ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEAVEN BOOKS OF THE ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING,

The description of the Cities glory, Government, division of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacrifices, account of the Yeare, a full relation of their Judicatories. With an Addition of their Customs in Marriages, Burialls, Feastings, Divinations, &c.

By FRANCIS ROUS Scholler of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon.*

The THIRD EDITION Much-enlarged.

ARISTIDES.

Περιλαμπόντων τὰς ἀκοὰς, ὑπερχόμενα, μεῖζον ἔχοντες ἔργον ἢ, τὰ φυλαξόμενα ἢ ὅτῳ χρηστέον ἂν, εἰρῆν. *When others have in the same Argument preoccupated mens eares, they that speake afterward of the same subiect, have a greater trouble to consider what they must passe by unsaid then what to say.*

OXFORD,
Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD, for *John Adams*, and *Ed. Forrest* Junior. 1649.

7702. a. 14.

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4to [*²], A-Aaa⁴

Third Edition - Madan II 2026.

The last four Books are printed here for the first time.

In Author was of Merton College, Oxford.

Good, large + clean copy, brown morocco, Roxburgh.

A. 5/8/22

To the Reader.

IT is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me runne hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of Schoole-maſters, who undertake to read the Greeke Orators to raw Schollers, themſelves being not ripe in the Attick cuſtumes. I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage me that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour to heare of it from any. For

I am not of those whose eares are stopt, when their errors are told them. If this please it shall adde spurres to the finishing of this course intended; and as occasion may give leave, you shall have the rest that may be spoken.

Yours

F. R.

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia, Ἀννικὴ. Ἀκτικὴ. Ἀκτὴ. *Athenæ in actâ, Cecropiæ, Cranaæ, Atthis, Attica, Athenæ ſub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re ſententia, alii ſub Erechtheo volunt nominari, Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone. Salenos. Selines. Satinæ. Sethina.*

BY the ſonnes of *Noah* [a] were the Iles of the Gentiles divided into their lands, every one after his tongue; whē by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to heaven, thinking to leave a name to poſterity, by building Caſtles in the ayre. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a ſcattering abroad upon the face of the earth; hee having ſo ſpoken it, whoſe breath alone affords a faire wind: hoyſt then they muſt their Sailes, and bidding adieu to the plain in the land of *Shenar*, ſeek out ſome new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, & yet ſtill muſt journey. Each one in as different a courſe, as of a divers language. The ſons of *Shem* their way, the ſons of *Japhet*, theirs. *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai* & *Iavan*, with whom I purpoſe one furlong [a] Gen. 10. 5.

to keepe company, leaving the reſt on one ſide or other or behind, looking only to my propoſed ſcope. [b] Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰαυὰν Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἐκλήθησαν. From *Iavan* came *Ionia* and *all the Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Iavan* put for *Greece*; in *Daniel* twice, [c] *And when I am gone forth, loe the Prince of Grecia ſhall come.* And againe, [d] *Hee ſhall ſtirre up all againſt the Realme of Grecia.* Where although the old tranſlation renders it not *Iavan*, yet it is ſo found in the originall. He then coming into the country called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Ionia* and *Jas*. [e] ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. *For Attica was anciently called Ionias and Las.* In which words wee ſtill retaine ſome reliques of the radix, notwithſtanding the ſmall difference of the termination. But if we pleaſe to view after what title the *ſonnes of Iavan* were ſtiled *Jaones*, wee ſhall come neerer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ὅταν φῇ· -- Ἐρεχθέα Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἰάονας -- τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer* when he ſaies, *There the Bœotians and Iaones* ſpeakes of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiaſt* of *Æſchylus* on theſe words,

[f] Ἰαόνων γλῶ δίχεῖ πίρσαι δίλων

Ἰσέον δὲ ὅτι Ἰάονες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγονται ἀπό τινος Ἴαονος Βασιλέως αὐτῶν. *It is to be underſtood*, quoth hee, *that the Athenians are tearmed Jaones, from one Jaon* (he meanes *Javan*) *that was their King*. Neither is it ſtrange that the *vau* or υψιλὸν is left out; for though it be not written, yet perſwaded I am that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Dipthongs were. For the [g] antique Latines and the Greeks ſpake it as broad *a*, as if it had been *theſarus* not *theſauros*. Sr *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion *that Aſia the leſſe had People before Greece had any, and that Javan did not fly from Babylonia into Greece, but took Aſia the leſſe in his paſſage, and from thence paſt over the neereſt way, leaving his own name to ſome Maritimate province on that ſide as he did to that part ſo called.* In which, although the authority of ſo worthy & iudicious a man might move much, yet it ſhall be ſufficient for me, only to goe ſo farre, as antiquitie will

[b] Ioſeph. Antib. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.
[c] Dan 10. 20.
[d] Cap. 11. 2.
[e] Strabo l. 9. p. 392.
[f] In Perſis p. 133.
[g] Donat. in Ter. p. 130.

will beare me out. [a] *Thucidides* reports that it is manifeſt, that all Greece was not βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, firmly inhabited, but that there were continuall pilgrimages, or removings of the inhabitants, forſaking their former places, being driven out by a ſtronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was a ſafe traffique or commerce by ſea or land, each manured his grounds for to have provent, alone to ſerve for preſent neceſſity, deſiring no more then from hand to mouth; it being uncertaine, how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats; not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni*. *Be gone you ancient Boores*. But the more fertill ſoyle had hard bickrings. *Theſſalie, Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled. [b] πλὴν γὰρ Ἀττικῆς διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον ἦσαν, ἄνδρασι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ. *But Attica, by reaſon of the thinneſſe or barrenneſſe of the ground, was alwaies inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better, for a worſe) *not affording fuell to contention*. Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude, that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and οὐκ ἐκγονοῖς οὔσης, *not able to containe and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth *Colonies* into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſſe, which is reported by the *Greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be [c] κτίστωρ Ἀσιάδος χθονός, *the maker or founder of Aſia*. The mother *Ionia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name, For in proceſſe of time ſhe owned *Actæa*; from *Actæon*, as [d] *Strabo* ſaies, or from *Actæus*, according to [e] *Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by [f] *Tzetzes on Lycophron* called *Actæus*. But [g] *Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more naturall reaſon then this, why it was *Actæa*, *Actia* ſignifies a *ſhore*; both in the *Greeke* and * *Latine* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the Sea, and [h] ἀλιτενὴς, it might challenge unto it ſelfe *Actæa*, *Dion*

[a] Lib. 1 p. 2.
[b] Thucid.
[c] In Jone. T. 2 p. 619.
[d] Lib. 9. p. 397.
[e] In Att. p. 2.
[f] Pag. 23.
[g] Orat. 6.
* Virg. Æn. 5. p. 214.
[h] Strabol. 9. p. 391.

ἀκτὴ γὰρ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, ὅθεν καὶ Ἀκταίους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Hence Ἀκτὴ by the Ænigmatical Poet in his [i] *Cassandra* is put for this country. *Tzetzes. Because it is (Acta) a cliffe, that is cast forth and lying in the sea.* And *Athens* her selfe by *Plautus* is said *Athenæ in acta, pro Athenis Atticis*, as [k] *Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old after a season, and *Cecrops* having married the daughter of *Actæus* glories in his *Cecropia* (and Athens *Cecropiæ*, and *Cecropis civitas*, and after that *Cranaæ* from *Cranaus* the King that succeeded him.) This *Cranaus* among other of his daughters had one [l] *Attis*, from whom also was derived *Attus* and *Attica*, next *Posidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region stood *Athens*, *Queene of Greece*, so called, from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a prodigie of a sudden shooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did signifie *Neptune*, the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into suffrages for *Neptune*, and the Women for *Minerva*, who had most voices should carry it. the females being more the Goddesse bore away the bell, Lo here a witty Divell to bring in ἐπιχωρίους θεούς, Gods of his own making, to intold the superstitious in an ignorant zeale. However let us leave the shadow of poeticall fictions, & take the true draught out of *Mythologie*. *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings striving to draw away their Subjects frō seafaring negotiations, & a desire to live by sayling, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ &c. *Neptune* is put for the Sea and businesses thereof. *Minerva* for Arts and ingenuous kind of life, nay saies *Ovid* in his Kalender. *Mille Dea est operum*, thee is Goddesse of a thousand trades. Others say that the City was consecrated to her by *Amphiction*, & *nomen civitati Athenas dedit*. [c] *Iustine*. Others in the time of *Erectheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this name given.

[i] Pag 22.

[k] In Spicilegiis.

[l] Strabo & Paus. locis præd.

[a] Varro apud Augusst. l.18. c.9. de Civit. Dei.

[b] In Them. p. 87.l.23.

[c] Lib. 2.

given. Which Author [d] *Marcianus Heracleota* doth follow, ὑςέρησιν δ' χρόνοις Ερεχθέως τ' πόλεως ἡγεμόνα ἀπὸ τ' Αθηνᾶ τ' σεμνοτελείαν ἀφεῖναι. This was that *Erechtheus*, who in a time of drowth over all the world except *Ægypt*, brought corne to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleusinian mysteries*. Beholding this City hath been to *Ægypt* for other Kings; to wit, [e] *Cecrops* and *Menestheus*, for his father *Petes* was an *Ægyptian*. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus* and before him was it a received opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyptians*, *Sais* in that tongue answering to *Athene* in *Greeke*, as *Tzetzes* out of *Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of *Sais*, they argue from this. Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have divers customes alike. Witnesse *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *Athens*; when the people began more seriously to addict themselves to civill government, and study of good literature; knowledge and art being ascribed to *Minerva* Τῆ δ' Αθωᾶ τ' ὀνομάζω σοφίαν καὶ τέχνην. saies [f] *Aristotle*. Nay her name being derived from thence, [illegible] *Athena* in the *Chaldy* tongue signifying to *study* or *learne* from which come *thenaa* and with an article *Hathenaa* as [g] *Heinsius* the most learned. As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from ana the number of three which notes eternity, and so from hat-het ana. *Athenæ*. Because wisdome doth contain eternity, let us send it back into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which was once the [h] *shop of letters* and the Muses, whereof it is now deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former *Athens*, nay the name it selfe. For if we believe some they tell us, that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not. Because that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in that City, I had no other appellatiõ from him then *Atteene*, which others write *Satina* corrupted as *Portus* and *Meursius* truly think for εἰς Αθωᾶς. Nay [a] *Hugo Favolius* who was there himselfe

[d] Ἐν Ἐρυθραίᾳ ἡσυχ.

[e] Aristoph. sch. pag. 79. Tzetz. in Lycoph p. 23.

[f] Polit. l. 8. c. 9

[g] In Aristar. Sac. Synt. 1. c. 1. p. 27.

[h] Isidor.

[a] In Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

himſelfe even to the ſame purpoſe names it *Sethina*.

Undiq; ſic miſeræ nobis ſpectantur Athenæ
Dædala quas Pallas ſeje coluiſſe negaret,
Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mœnia dicas
Indigenæ Sethina vocant----
Wee wretched *Athens* round doe view, which now,
Though once ingenious Pallas love,'s her ſhame,
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'ſt diſavow,
To which the Homebred give *Sethina* name.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Ἄϛυ πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbæ lucentes, Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonicus,* Propylæa. *Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ.* ἡ ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. *Piræei brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Laus paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Fluvius.*

[b] l. Panath. p. 71. 172.

GReece, ſaies [b] *Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole earth, and in the mid'ſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navell whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the wombe of time, received nouriſhment, before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. Shee is ſeated upon a very high rock, which habitations doe encompaſſe, as [c] *Strabo*: on the top of which ſtands that renowned fabricke even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelfe names* *Cecropia*; of old ἄϛυ *The City*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetuall contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſſe [d] *Pauſanias*. [e] *Terent, An in aſtu venit?* Donat. *Sic Athenienſes Urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſi incolæ ἀϛοὶ vocantur.* So, ſaith he, the *Athenians* called their Citty, whence the Cittizens themſelves are called *aſtoi*, after that they called it [f] *Pauſanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx* a caſtle, which

[c] Lib. 9. p. 396

* Plin. Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

[d] In Att. p. 13. l. 16.

[e] Eunuch. act 5. ſc. 6.

[f] Attic. p. 24. l. 43.

which ever were ſacred to *Minerva*, as g *Ariſtides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks* named *Diva tenens in ſummis urbibus arces. The Goddeſſe that keepes the Turrets of Cities.* This only now remaines, the ſuccour and ſhelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being ſtrongly furniſhed with men and armes, in which alone dwell Janizaries, to the number of ſeaven hundred thouſand, as *Chriſtophoro Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing leaſt he had miſtaken the number. As for the forces thereof a *Hugo Favolius* ſhall thus inſtruct you,

g Orat. in Minerv. To. 1. p. 21.

a Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem
Quæ ſi, impoſita jugo eſt, vaſtas proſpectat in undas
Æquoris, & circum diſperſa mapalia, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoſte,
Nobilis arx, toto quà non eſt altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validiſq; inſtructior armis,
Ignivomoq; magis tormentorum impete tuta.

A Caſtle only famous at this day,
Set on an hill, below which views the ſea.
The ſcattered thatcht ſheds, that ſtand it about,
The Fort defends, and keeps invaſion out,
And natives ſafe. A fort, none noted more
In Greece, which hath a better warlike ſtore,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the toppe of this Turret ſtand the faſhions of Halfe Moones moſt rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Iſhmaelites*, who have the Moon in no ſmall honour, as my much honoured Mr b *Selden* hath obſerved. Of which Lunulets thus ſpeakes *Favolius*,

b De Diis Syris Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua cœlivagas feriunt faſtigia nubes.

Whoſe tops with gilded Moones aſpiring high,
Doe knock the Clouds the pilgrims of the skie.

Neither may it paſſe obſcurely which I have taken up being let fall frō the mouth of an eye-witnes; namely that on the ſide

ſide of this hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, growes a certain kind of herbe, that farre off, in the night ſeaſon, gives a moſt ſhining and glittering light, to which when a man ſhall approach, he ſhall diſcerne nothing but the herb it ſelfe. Of which matter I ſeriouſly wiſh that I could teſtify the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The walls that environ this, are none now, ſaies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced; ſome part thereof erected by thoſe two *Tuſcan* brothers, who leaving their country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called πελαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storkes, διὰ τὸν πλάνον, for their wandring, [a] *Strabo*, [b] *Plinie* ſaies their names were *Euryalus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that firſt built houſes of brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pauſanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author, and the perſons wrong, in putting a falſe name upon one of them, I will doe them none. Read then *Laterarias domus conſtituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. [c] *Pauſanias*. φασὶ δὲ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον. From theſe was that part which they edified called *Pelargicum*. *Ariſtophanes in avibus*.

Τὶς δ' ἂν κατοικεῖ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικὸν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the ſonne of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pauſanias* in the fore quoted place. Theſe walls admitted no gate but one, ſo rarely beautified with that coſtly *Propyleum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is diſcommended by [d] *Demetrius Phalareus* for diſburſing ſo great a ſumme of money. [e] For which he was not ſmally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore ſeeing him ſomewhat ſad, and demanding the cauſe, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, ſeek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counſell the *Athenians* were entangled with that neighbour warre againſt the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.

By

[a] Lib.9.p. 397.
[b] Nat. hiſt. l. 7.c.56.
[c] In Attic. p. 26.l.34.
[d] Tul.Off.l.2.
[e] Val.Max. lib.3.c.1.

By the way it ſhall be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as [f] *Plutarch* διὰ τὴν ἀχολάτειαν καὶ δυσῳδίαν it may bee, for his heat in Venerie and ill ſavour. Goats likewiſe, ſaies [g] *Varro*, came not thither, unleſſe for a neceſſarie ſacrifice once, leaſt they ſhould hurt the *Oliue* which is ſaid firſt to haue ſprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is ſaid to be threeſcore ſtadia. Now a *Stadium* is about ſome * ſix hundred and twentie fiue feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the cuſtome of the ancient Greekes, ſo to meaſure the length or diſtance of grounds, or Cities, by the στάδια. The firſt City then is contained in ſeaven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houſes able to make a City of themſelues. And ſo indeed were they diſtinguiſhed by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις, The upper and the lower City. [h] *Plutarch*, ἅμα τοῦτο καὶ σεσὶς θαλάττῃ στρεβλύντες τὴν ἄνω πόλιν διεφυλάξαμεν. Note here moreouer, in the reading of your Greeke Authors, that when you meet with τὸ ἄνω in the deſcription of a countrey, you preſently muſt conceaue the higher part, if it be τὸ κάτω, [a] *Thucydides*. Ἔφειδόν τι γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τι καὶ ἅμα ἄλλων ὄντες ὑπὲ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν. *And they prayed upon each other, and among the reſt who were not addicted to the ſea, yet lived below*, underſtand neare the ſea, *Schol.* κάτω ἤτοι ἐγγὺς τῆς θαλάσσης. The τὸ ἄνω then, and τὸ κάτω knit together made but one joynt corporation, both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themſelues, tooke vp, as [b] *Dion Choyſoſtome* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about fiue and twentie miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiaſt* teſtifying that the walls were μικρὸν τι ἔλαττον ἢ fifteene miles ſaue one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not eftſoone perceaued the number to haue beene corrupt, and written κα for ει, twentie fiue for fifteene. For ſo it ought to be. Neither is it ſtrange that it had ſo large bonnds. For conſider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned fiue miles, as you may ſee in [c] *Plinie*, From *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and ſo to the other ſide of *Piræum* foure miles

[f] Ἑλλωτ. p. 175.
[g] De re Ruſt.
* *Fiue feet make a pace. and a thouſand paces a mile* Iſidor. Orig. lib. 15. c. 16.
[h] In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.
[a] Lib. 1. p. 6. a
[b] Orat. 6.
[c] Nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 85.

and a quarter. The vtmoſt wall of which *Thucydides* ſpeakes in his ſecond book conſiſted of fiue miles a quarterand halfe. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had ſeaven miles and an halfe more. All which being put together make up but twentie two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chryſoſtom* muſt be here underſtood: and it behoves us to conceive that he ſpake not barely of the naked wals, for then it cannot hold; but I ſuppoſe ſome houſes to haue been withont [d] περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, as he ſaies, τῶν ἄστεος οἰκιῶν γὰρ πόλεως καὶ πᾶσα ξύμπτωσα. In which I appeale to more judicious heads. Neither can I ſilently paſſe by the opinion of *John Meurſius*, who reading in [e] *Pauſanias*, theſe words, Δημώδους μὲ δὴ σφίσιν μάλιστα εἶχον ἀφύσεως τῆς πόλεως ἡ περὶ φαληρῷ θάλασσα, ſhould preſently obtrude to us, that *Pauſanias* teaches, that the [f] wall called *Phalericus* is but twentie *ſtadia* or two mile and an halfe. When indeed he meant nothing leſſe. For ſpeaking of ſalt Springs, which he calls θαλάσσης ῥεύματα, hee ſeemes to involve a reaſon drawne from the neereneſſe of the ſea. For when he writes of this brackiſh well. *Among the Athenians, the ſea which comes up neere Phalerus is diſtant from the City but twentie Stadia at the moſt*, quoth hee. Where *Amaſæus* hath thus ſtrangely doted. *Athenæ à Phalero abſunt ſtadia haud amplius XX.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proues that which followes. Hee might haue likewiſe conſidered that περὶ with a Dative caſe ſignifies not onely *juxta* and *propè* as I haue tranſlated it; but *ſupra* ſometimes, which will now ſerue better. And *Meurſius* indeed blames the number; but ſees not into the words. Now it is not needleſſe that the two walls, which joynes *Pyræum* and *Athens* at ſo long a diſtance, be ſomewhat ſpoken of, ſeeing they are reckoned by [a] *Livie* among the *multa viſenda*, Many things worthy of ſight at *Athens*. Theſe are the μακρὰ τείχη, in [b] *Propertius*,

---*Theſeæ brachia longa viæ.* [c] *Appian* of *Alexandria*, μακρὰ πύλη, and [d] *Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which [e] *Plutarch*. The other towardes the South, in

[d] Loco citato.

[e] In Arcad p. 244. l. 37.

[f] Att. Lect. l. 3 c. 4.

[a] Lib. 31.

[b] Lib. 3. Eleg. 19. p. 192.

[c] In bello Mith. p. 125. l. 9.

[d] Pag. 355. l. 10.

[e] In Pericle, p. 215. l. ac.

In height about forty Cubits, as [f] *Appian* teſtifies. Theſe are called διὰ μέσου τείχους by [g] *Dion Chryſoſtom*, becauſe *Athens* being at one end, and *Piræum* at the other, theſe were drawne forth betweene. And when writers ſpeake of Νότιον διὰ μέσου τεῖχος, it may be conjectured that it is for diſtinction of that Νότιον τεῖχος in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, [h] witneſſe *Pauſanias*. *Ariſtophanes* ſeemes to bring authoritie for an opinion that *Themiſtocles* built theſe. *In* [i] *Equitibus*.

[f] In Mith p. 124 l. ult.
[g] Orat. 6.
[h] In Attic. p. 19 l. 8.
[i] P. 337.

Τὸν Πειραιᾶ ᾠκοδόμησεν.

Which his [k] Scholiaſt affirmes. Τὸν γὰρ Πειραιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ᾠκοδόμησε τῇ πόλει. *For Themiſtocles added Piræum to the City.* We read in [l] *Probus* that he was the onely agent in walling the City, and that he ſo haſtned the accompliſhing, that they were faine to be as it were ſacrilegious, and make uſe of materialls formerly conſecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But [m] *Plutarch* gaine-ſaies this, and that he did onely τὴν πόλιν ἐξάπτειν τῷ πειραεῖ, καὶ τὴν γῆν τῇ θαλάττῃ, conjoyne the City and *Piræum*, and put the land to take acquaintance with the ſea It ſeemes ſomewhat forward before. How ever, ſo fennie was the ground it was founded upon, that the worke ſoone came to great reparation, which [n] *Cimon* the ſonne of *Miltiades* undertooke. For with ſtones of an huge weight and lime he made the earth ſo firme that it could not give. Nay he was ſo liberall, that hee did out of his own expences ſo great favours, to a people that ſome yeares after gratified him with exile. Neither did he onely mend the breaches; but in after time [o] finiſhed the whole worke, ſo that he may truely be ſaid to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * *Meurſius* hath obſerved tenne, but I feare they will ſcarce ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt City. Take then theſe. *Dipylon* or *Thriaſia*, the fayreſt of all, *velut in ore urbis poſita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, ſaies *Livie*, *major aliquanto patentiq́ quam cæteræ eſt*, greater ſomewhat and wider then the reſt. Hence I ſuppoſe named *Dipylon* as if it were as big as two Gates. Πυργίκη. *Pi-*

[k] P. 338. A. co. 2.
[l] In Them. p. 27.
[m] In Them. p 87 l. 25.
[n] Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.
[o] Plut. p. 355. l. 12. *vnleſſe* τὸ ὕστερον *may haue reſpect to Conon who after the victory at Cnidus erected theſe walls as* Pauſan. in Atticis p. 2. l. 14. *I would neither deceaue my ſelfe or the Reader*
* Attic. Lect. initio.
[p] Dec. 4. l. 1. [q] l. 4.

raicæ. Neere the Temple of *Chalcodoon*. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus*. [q] *Plutarch.* Ἱππάδες. *Hippades*. Where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Oratour rest with his progenitours, who being racked under *Antipater*, chose rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the secrets of his countrey. Ἱερὰ Sacræ. The sacred gate. We read of this in [b] *Theophrastus's Characters* but to my great admiration, that the Eagle-sighted *Casaubon* had not espied a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as Ἱεραὶ, yet is there any that ever read καὶ τὰς Ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξελὼν ἔχειν νεκρὸν, the dead to haue been carried out to buriall through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar doe, such as, *When Christmas comes out of Wales*. Write then Ἡρίας. Ἡρία are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. [c] *Demosthenes*, Αἰγέως πύλαι The gate of *Ægeus*. It seemes to haue beene in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called [d] Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις. *The statue at the gates of Ægeus*, Μελιτίδης. *Melitides*. Where lyes *Thucydides* the sonne of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponnesian warre*, who after his returne into his countrey from banishment, was treacherously murthered, his Sepulchre stands neere these gates. [e] *Pausanias*. Κεραμικοὶ *Ceramicæ*. These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμικῷ πύλαι. *The Gates in Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, which died in the seditious warre that *Thrasybulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*. [f] *Xenophon*. Διοχάρους πύλαι. The Gates of *Diocharis*. Of whom I haue nought to speake. Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι. The *Acharnan Gates*. I suppose they were called so from that Towne or Village neere, named *Acharnia*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the Towne to which they were neere. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina* from

[q] In Theseo. p. 9. l. 20.

[a] ἐν βίοις ῥητ. i p. 456.

[b] περὶ αἰσθήσεως. p. 45

[c] Pag. 715. num 95.

[d] Plut. Thes. p. 4. l. 21.

[e] Atticis. p. 21. l. 41.

[f] Ἑλλην. β. p. 279. l. 43.

from *Collatia*, a Burge not farre off. And happily it is so here, as also in Δημα. *Diomæa*; for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not anygreat matter distant from the Citty. Θρηϊκιαι *Thracia.* These are all that I ever met with named: others there are obscurely pointed at by [g] *Pausanias*, as that neere the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Pœcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in brasse. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace then speake as good as nothing. Thus haue wee found twelve Gates; which being opened enter; sucke that sweet ayre, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, [a] and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgements for contemplation. Whence [b] *Euripides* may well straine to this note, that *Venus* sitting neere, and adorning her selfe, sends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, παντοῖαν ἀρετὴν ξυνεργούς. Well may he blesse that clime stiling it λαμπρὸν πατρὶ αἰθέρι, which hath beene the Mother of the *Muses* (by the leaue of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to haue travelled with *Harmony*; as if there were no such melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not [d] *Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lye under the same temperature and disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it. [e] No coat so truely void of all earthly dregges, and participating more of the cœlestiall and defecated ayre. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* beene lavish in expressions. [f] *Famous*, [g] *The most renowned*, [h] *Happy*, [i] *Sacred Athens. Pindarus.* [k] *Wonderfull.* [l] *Much spoken of.* [m] *Neat, &c.* To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to beare vessells of a good burthen, as I haue beene informed, but the *Turkes* fearing least it might be advantagious to any enimy that might invade them, haue cut it into many & sundry litle reames, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they haue sufficiently prevented, which they did but suppose could happen.

Meursius *hath added two.* l. tonæ, & Scæa, in Attecis, *which I never saw until I had writ ten this place as God and man is my witnesse. I speake least any should, think that I haue stolne out of him because we meet.*

g Atticis. p. 14 l. 11.

a Cassiod. Var. l. 12.

b Medea p. 460. 461.

c Med. p. 459.

d In Præf. ad Charact.

e Tom. 1. p. 173.

f Aia p. 5. 7.

g Oed. Col. p. 258.

h Oed. Col. p. 264.

i Aia p. 71.

k Im. p. 351.

CAP. III.

Ατλικοὶ. Ασιωτῶν, *Mores, & Ingenia.* τὸ μισοβάρβαρον. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumq; habent.*

1 Ἐν βίῳ Ἑλλάδος. p. 196

THE *Athenians* by 1 *Dicæarchus* are divided into two ſorts, Ατλικους, *Atticos*, and Ασιωτας. Of which though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Inſomuch as one of the puniſhments, which the *Athenians* are ſaid to inflict upon their women (for the appeaſing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great dammage, in anger conceaved for loſſe of the Title of the City) was this, m That none ſhould after call them Ασιωτας, *Athenians*, but Ατλικας. *Atticas*. A revenge I ſuppoſe opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν ἀδόλεσχοι παῖς λαλιαῖς ὕφηλοι, συκοφαντώδεις, παραπρηπεῖς ἐπὶ ξενικῶν βίον. *Curious Babblers, Deceitfull, Calumniators, Obſervers of the liues of ſtrangers.* Πεσίστρατος παῖς λαλιαῖς. A ſufficient witneſſe of this is a St *Luke*, that ſaies, they did regard nothing more then to heare and ſpeake noveltie. To which end they often met in Barbers ſhops, where all the newes, that was going in thoſe daies, was currant. Hence ſay we *verba in tonſtrinis procacta*: and in Greeke ὀπὶ παῖς κυρεῖοις λόγοις, h *Ariſtophanes*.

m Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 9.

a Act. 17.

b In Pluto p. 38.

Καὶ τοι λόγος γ' ἰδίᾳ τοι ἐν Ἑρμαΐ, πολὺς
Ἐπὶ τοῖσι κυρείοισι καθημένων
Ὡς ἐξαπίνης ἀνὴρ γεγένηται πλούσιος.

They that ſate in the Barbers ſhops did talke much that he was ſuddenly growne rich. The Scholiaſt ſeemes to take the meaning as if the Comædian had quipped them for reſorting to Barbers and neglecting Barber Chirurgions of better cre-
dit. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle. c *Ælian*

c Var. hiſt. lib. 3. c. 7.

Καθιζομένους ἐν ἰατρείῳ φλυάρους, ἢ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν ἐν παντὶ ξυ-

δηλῶντας. Sitting in a Chirurgions ſhop, ſcandalous, and thirſtie to ſpeake ill by all meanes. ὕπυλοι. men Italianated, who can ſmile, even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophraſtus* hath in his Characters drawne out, who can be affable to their enimies, and diſguiſe their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their ſnares; that ſalute with mortall embracements, and claſp you in thoſe armes, which they meane to embrew in your deareſt blood. In ſumme, fayre without, but rotten within, like a wound which is healed aboue and ſeemes ſound, but putrifies under the skin. And ſo much the word doth import. Συκοφαντώδης. Given to falſe accuſations. The [e] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes, that it being forbidden to carry Figges out of *Athens*, and ſome nevertheleſſe the decree being abſolute againſt it, preſuming ſo to doe, they ſet rogues in the gates that did appeach them, (as [f] *Plutarch* likewiſe) Hence came this word to bee uſed for any crafty knaue that gets his living by promooting, [g] ὃσπὲρ συκοφαντίας ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affaires, and therefore [h] *Ariſtophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the ſcene terming himſelfe an *Overſeer* both of private and publike matters. If then ſuch a perſon had eſpied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, hee would as ſure haue fetched him over for his coyne, as any *Summoner* doth a perſon delinquent towards the fiſh, or any Lawyer a credulous client, and having well plumed him, afterwards gives him a dimiſſorie. Ἐκεῖνοι (*Sycophantæ*) ὧν χὰ παὶ ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῶ ἐγω. *Xenophon.* Such were many in *Athens*, inſomuch that *Ariſtotle* being asked what *Athens* was, anſwered, πλακοῦς, *All beautifull*, ἀλλ' ὄχνη ἐν ὄχνῃ ἰηρόσιν σύκον δ' ὄπι σύκῳ, in a verſe of [a] *Homer* in the deſcription of *Alcinous* garden, but peares grew ripe after peares, and figges after figges, meaning a continuall ſucceſſion of Sycophants. This made *Iſocrates* the Oratour to compare the City to a Curtezan, with whom few there were but would haue to doe, yet none dare take to wife; affirming it to be the beſt place to ſojourne in, but the worſt to inhabit:

Cap. ἀγροίκος.

[e] In Plut. p. 5.

[f] In Solone p. 65.

[g] Xenophon. Ἑλλην. β. p. 271. l. 20.

[h] Pluto p. 90. c. p. 91. b.

[i] Ἑλλην. β. p. 272. l. 10.

[a] Οδυσσ. η.

By

By reaſon of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Oratours. Παράπηγμα τῆς ξενικῶν βίου. I was once halfe in an opinion that theſe words were to haue beene put to the former thus, συκοφαντῶδες παράπηγμα τῆς ξενικῶν εἶναι, And I thinke the ſenſe will runne well, *Malitious obſervers of the liues of ſtrangers.* The *Athenians were* φιλόξενοι and held hoſpitalitie ſacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law: *That Forrainers ſhould receaue no wrong,* ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. *Socrates* in *Xenophon.* Now hee diſcommendes the Ἀττικοὶ as ready to trouble and vex ſtrangers in law, duely marking and bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage[b]: As for the *Athenienſes* they were Μεγαλόψυχοι ἁπλοῖ τοῖς ἤθεσι, φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, *Brave ſpirited, ſingle dealing, and faithfull friendes.* But as the words were at length confounded, ſo did their maners degenerate, growing into ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως, an *Irregularitie of nature.* As[c] *Polybius.* No μεγαλοψυχία afterwardes, but haughtineſſe of ſpirit, magnanimitie now fallen. And when[e] *Livy* ſaies *ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos ſervare,* hee meanes, they had nothing left but thoſe prond ſpirits, which their ancient flouriſhing fortune had puffed up. No ἁπλότης, or ſimplicity, *no*[e] *Lambe like innocencie*, or mildeneſſe; but as[f] *Plutarch* ſpeakes, *People raſhly angry, ſoone pittifull, rather inclined ſharpely to take opinion, then quietly to be enformed. And as they are ready to helpe beſe and abject Peaſants, ſo friendly doe they entertaine childiſh and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their owne praiſes, and nothing moved with ſcurrilitie, Fearefull and terrible even to their Governours, humane towards their enimies.* Not unfitly then[g] *Valerius Maximus, Quantam ergo reprehenſionem merentur, &c.* How deſerue they to be blamed, who though they they had juſt laws, yet had they moſt wicked diſpoſition, and choſe rather to take their owne courſes, then put in practiſe their ſtatutes? As for their impudence, ſo great was it, that to expreſſe a countenance void of ſhame, the Comœdian hath put Ἀτλινὲς βλέπειν, An *Athenian looke*, in[h] *Nubibus.* φίλιας γνήσιοι φύλακες, So accounted in the time of[a] *Paterculus*, that what was done in ſincerity and

[b] Ἀπομν. ημ. C p. 428.
[c] Lib. 6.
[d] Dec. 4. p. 7. l. 1.
[e] Ariſtoph. p. 694.
[f] Πολλ. πανυ p. 387.
[g] Lib. 5. c. 3. p. 207.
[h] Pag. 189. E.
[a] Lib. 2. p. 47.

and faithfull truſt, the *Romans* would ſay it was performed *fide Attica* with an *Athenian* loyaltie. Fear and power might make them truſty, but how they brake their leagues, tooke part with other *Islanders* againſt confederates, & violated the Lawes of Armes, Hiſtorians are not dumb. As for their Wrath it was ἀείμνηστος, ever mindefull, as [b] *Virgil. memor ira.* And the hatred they proſequuted the Barbarians withall was ſo unquenchable, that it burned againſt [c] all *Barbarians* for the *Perſians* ſake; & they forbad them their ſacrifices as they uſed to do murderers among them. Where you muſt note that all that were not *Græcians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But lō! How are they now become all become Barbarous! whether or no people of *Africa* or ſome of the *Catalani* I cannot juſtly tel. *Mahumedans* all, poore and miſerable, living by rapine, or fiſhing, or tilling the earth, [d] *Favolius* *Duraq; conĉti*

b Æneid. 1.

c Jocrat. in Pan. p. 109.

d Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

Pauperie aſſuerunt vitam tolerare rapina.
Aut paſſim infeſtant furto, raptoq; propinqua
Æquora piratæ, ſed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit in eſcatos tereti ſub arundine piſces.
Aut deſolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, miſera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppreſt with need they do their life ſuſtaine
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour maine
With pillaging. VVho are more juſt and good
VVith angling do the filly fiſh delude;
Or plough the grounds made deſolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, miſrable, ſtill poore.

CAP. IV.

De populi diviſione, Εὐπατρίδαι. Γεωμόροι. Δημιουργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππεῖς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. *Quid Athenienſibus cum Ægyptiis commune.*

THere was at firſt but two kindes of people in *Athens*, two orders *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interlucebat*, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: ſuch as at this day are in *France* either Peeres or Peaſants, or as in *Venice* Patricians and Plebeians. And although *Pollux* calls them τρία γένη, three ſorts, yet I make but two, becauſe the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentle for blood, ſurpaſſing for riches, or happy for life. But becauſe he hath ſo ſet them, take them thus, as he ſpeakes. [a] τρία δὲ ταῦτ' ἦν ἔθνη πάλαι. Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were ſuch as were deſcended from the loynes of thoſe *Heroes* famous in the Greek hiſtory, whoſe families were ever renowned, and poſterity propagated to many generations, ſuch as *Praxiergidæ*, *Etcobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cynidæ*, *Ceryces*. &c. whom we may tearme Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, *Geomori*, may not ſeem unlike our Yeomen, who had lands of their owne, & ſuſtained themſelves with the fruit and commodity of theſe their poſſeſſions. Δημιουργοί, *Demiurgi* were men of ſome handi-craft, tradeſmen, ſuch as Tent-makers, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Maſons, and the like. But *Solon* made another diviſion. For when the *Diacrii*, which were thoſe that lived in the upper part of the Citie, οἱ ἔξω ἄστεος, ſaies *Diogenes Laertius*; and the *Pediæi* which likewiſe are πεδιεῖς, ſuch as lived in the middle of the Citie, or the plaine. And the *Paralii* who lived neere the ſea, were at contention about government. The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democratie, [c] as *Plutarch* writes, the *Pediæi* to an Oligarchie, and the *Paralii* between both, and had choſen *Solon* to arbitrate and determine the matter

[a] Pollux l. 8. cap. 9. p. 404.

[b] In Solone.

[c] p. 61. In Solonem.

[c] So doth Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus *divide them into* εὐπατρίδας & ἀγεσίλαους lib. 2. n.

matter he made theſe four rankes. Πεντακοσιομεδίμνους ἵππεις, ζευγίτας Θῆτας, *Pentacoſiomedimnos. Equites. Zeugitas. Thetes. Pentacoſiomedimni* were thoſe who ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγροῖς, could make five hundred meaſures in wet, and drie commodities alike. What *Poſſardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here, for he ſuppoſes that *Pentacoſiomedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could ſuffice to ſow, but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὑσὶν. For he ſeems to ſow upon the Waters. This is he whom the *Elzivirii* printed at *Leyden Anno* 1635. under the name of *Poſtellus* who was ſometime a Profeſſor of Tongues in *France*, and author of the Treatiſe *de Magiſtratibus Athenienſium*. *Equites*, were ſuch as were of ability to keep an horſe, or had the quantity of three hundred meaſures in dry, & as many in wet: called likewiſe ἱππάδα πλῆθος *Zeugitæ*, were ſuch as could of wet & dry in all, make but three hundred. Any of theſe three could beare office in the Commonwealth. A fourth ranck which he called [e] Θῆτας, *Thetas*, a name for ſervilitie, which had no power in the rule of the Weale publique. But it had not been amiſſe if I had ſhewne how the *Ægyptians* had divided their people into three claſſes as the *Athenians* did, as I have ſpoken above. For the firſt degree or *Eupatridæ* addicted to learning and ſtudie, who were had in greater honour, anſwer to the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. [f] Nay thoſe great houſes in *Athens* had Prieſthood by ſucceſſion, as *Eumolpidæ*, *Ceryces*, *Cynidæ*. For out of the ſtocke were choſen Prieſts hence ἱεροζώνη ἐκ γένους in [g] *Demoſthenes*. The *Geomori* who had lands aſſigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not diſlike them in *Ægypt* who hold poſſeſſions on theſe tearms, namely to provide ſouldiers when need ſhall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* reſemble thoſe Plebeians who skilfull in ſome art, did ſet out their labour to daily hire: as *Diodorus Siculus* can teſtifie.

[d] Plut p. 65.

[e] Plutarch loco prædicto.

[f] Plut. Theſ. p. 8. l. 18.

[g] Pag. 741. n. 164.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Cliſthene: duæ additæ. Φυλὰι Φράτραι. Τετταρὶς Γένος. *Tribulum* Κοινωνία τυλετικὴ λέπτα φρατρικά.

IN *Athens* there were but foure Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops*. *Cecropis*, *Autochton*, *Actæa*, *Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais*, *Atthis*, *Meſogæa*, *Diacris*. I ſuppoſe from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly neere the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Meſogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour the Tribe ſo much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I knowe not. It is probable that it was an honour to their governour, for as *Cecrops* gaue the firſt names, *Cranaus* the ſecond, *each aſſuming a Title to himſelfe*, *Ericthonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter*, *Pallas*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*. Διὰς Ἀθηνᾶς Ποσειδωνιὰς Ἡφαιστὶς. But when *Ion* came to rule they were named after his foure ſonnes, *Geleontes*, *Ægicoreis*, *Argades*, *Hopletes*, as [a] *Herodotus* and [b] *Euripides*. though *Plutarch* ſaies that they were ſo called [c] ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἃς διῆγον οἱ Ἕλληνες πρώτην, from the courſes of life which they firſt tooke. But *Cliſthenes* a man factious and wealthie is ſaid by the Councel of [d] *Apollo*, *Alcmæon* being *Archon* to make tenne of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from ſome Demigods or Heroes bornein that land all, except *Aiax*, whom tough a ſtanger, he put to the reſt as a neighbour and companion. [e] *Herodotus*. Theſe then were called Ἐπώνυμοι: as you would ſay giuing names: the word ſo ſignifies ſometimes, as *Minerva* is ſaid by *Dion Chryſoſtom* Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθηνῶν, who gaue the name to *Athens*. To theſe were erected Statues neer the Councell place of the Senate. Their names are theſe as [f] *Pauſanias* hath them. *Hippothoon*, *Antiochus*, *Aiax Telamonius*

a In Terpſic. p. 137.
b In Ione verſus finem.
c In Solon. p. 6.
d Ariſtides T. 1. p. 336. A T. 3. p. 352.
e In Terpſic. p. 137.
f In Att. p. 45.

nius, Leo, Erectheus that slew *Immaradus* the sonne of *Eumolpus* in the Eleusinian war, *Ægeus*, *Oeneus*, *Acamas*, *Cecrops*, *Pandion*. From these Ἱπποθοωντὶς, Αἰγηϊδὶς, Αἰαντὶς, Λεοντὶς, Οἰνεὶς, Ἀκαμαντὶς, Κεκροπὶς, Πανδιονίς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name, in gratuity to them for the favours receaved; which in processe of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemais*, as *Stephanus* writes, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας, having beene curteously entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that *Livie* deceaue us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did succour the *Athenians* against *Philip*, sayes they first thought of adding that Tribe to the tenne, in thanksgiving that the *Rhodii* rescued foure fighting ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and sent them home,[a] *Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, addecem veteres tribus addenda.* Thus haue we seene that that there were twelue Tirbes in all. Let us looke back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of civill government. [b] *Eustathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the yeare. The foure Tribes according to the foure quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call φρατρὰς or Φρατρίας answerable to the twelve Months, each Φρατρία or φρατρὰς into thirty γένη or kindreds equalising the daies. For so many onely had the yeare of old. Witnesse the Riddle of [c] *Cleobulus* concerning the yeare,

Εἷς πατὴρ παῖδας ἔχει δυώδεκα τοὺς δ' ἑκάστῳ
Παῖδες τριήκοντα διάδικα εἶδος ἔχουσι.

One Father had twelue Sonnes, & each sonne thirty daughters, and every daughter black and white, meaning daies and nights. Over these were Governours φυλοβασιλῆς, Kings of the Tribes, who sate upon controversies betweene party and party of their owne Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer called. τριττυάρχης the Ruler of the *Trittys* or *Phratria*. The word may seeme to signifie a Societie, fellowship, or

* *These are reckoned among the Eponymoi in Paus. l. 5 who had Statues likewise.*

a Decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

b In 11. b. pag. 181.

c Laertius. p. 63. l. 1

Company. It skils not whether you derive it from φατ'α, as *Euſtath.*, or πατειὰ, as *Suidas*, or φρὰρ, as others, which is a Well, becauſe they drew Water from the ſame well. For the place being ſcantie of ſprings where *Athens* was founded, there being but one Well-ſpring in *Athens*, they were conſtrained to uſe φρέατα ποιητὰ, digged Wells, as [d] *Plutarch.* φράτορες are the men of that ſociety, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the ſame Ward, ſpeaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his ſervants ſhould afford what they had if any *Laciades* ſhould come into his Farme In deſcription of which thing *Plutarch* uſes δημότης, which then wee are not to interpret (*Curialis*, For this is as much as συγγενὴς and συμφυλέτης) but *popularis*. Theſe at feſtivall daies in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as [a] *Euſtathius* obſerues, and [b] *Pollux* (where they brought their children to be engroſſed in their books, as ſhall be hereafter ſpoken with the reaſons thereof) φρατρίζειν *Phratrizein* from hence comes which is τὸ εἰς φρατρίαν ἰέναι, to meet, for ſo *Euſtathius* in another place εἰς τωὐτὸ ἰέναι. As for the φυὴ, or kindreds, we muſt not think that they were of one blood, but from that neere conjunction which they had each with other being admitted into this ſocietie. γένος μὲ (every γένος or kindred conſiſted of thirtie, whence they were named τριακάδες) ἐκ πεντήκοντα, ἐν ᾗ τὰ σωϐλα ἦν πεσοκεφαλϐίδια. Not of affinity ſo called, but for their Synod; which the Gramarians call σύστημα κοινωνικὸν, a Communicative familiarity, κοινωνία being a participating in one thing, or haveing an equall ſhare in the ſame priviledges. Great was their care of each other; great was their mutuall love; which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certaine feaſts to be provided, wherein they ſhould kindely entertaine each other. δεῖπνα φυλετικὰ, and φρατρικὰ. [b] *Athenæus.* Τῶν ᾗ παρ' αὐτῶν θεσμοθέτης οἱ νομοθέται τά τε φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν· ἔτι ᾗ καὶ Διάσια καὶ τὰ φρατρικὰ, &c. Of feaſts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica* for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular, moreover

[d] In Solone p. 65. l. 33.

[a] Iliad β. pag. 181. & Il γ. pag. 629.

[b] Lib. 3. c. 4

[b] Dipnoſoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.

Moreover *Thiasos* for Colledges (as Philoſophers for the death of their Grand Maſters) and *Phratrica* for the ſame Ward. Hence Ἐστιάζειν τὴν φυλὴν and ἐστιάζειν τοὺς φράτορας. Of which in due time. The reaſon of this the *Dipnoſophiſt* gives, ſaying that Wine hath ἱλαρωτικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, an attractive and perſwading force to procure love, and frendſhip.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος quid? Athenienſibus proprium habere δήμους. Quot? Templa & ſacra pagatim.

ALL *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as [c] *Thucydides* ſpeakes, by Villages before there were any Townes; from whence comes the word Comœdie. [d] *At verò nondum coactis in urbem Athenienſibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id eſt, Paſtorum vicinorum; præſidi Deo, conſtructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Atticæ vicos, villas, & compita feſtum Carmen ſolenniter cantarent: orta eſt Cœmedia* ἀπὸ τῆς κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes. The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred hymnes to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the Preſident of the ſheepheards and neighbour, about the Villages, houſes and croſſe waies of *Attica*, alters being built in honour of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comœdie ἀπὸ τῆς κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν from revelling and ſinging. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the ſtreet where the offender lived, and in the night time to cry aloud [a] O δεῖνα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, θεῶν ὄντων καὶ νόμων. *Such a one doth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch outrages, although there bee Gods and Lawes?* by which, theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus* in a preface to *Ariſtophanes* ſaies μὴ κώμας καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ δήμους, that they were not called κώμας or villages by the *Athenians*, but δήμους which they tranſlate

c Lib. 1.

d Donat. in Præf. in Ter.

a Thomas Magiſter.

ſtate *Populus*, better in my minde *oppida* or Townes. *Cicero ad Atticum. Venio ad Piræea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quod homo Romanus Piræea ſcripſerim non Piræeum (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quàm quod M addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſcum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piræea, ſed de eo videro.* Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco: ſecutuſq; ſum non dico Cæcilium, Manu ut ex portu in Piræeum (malus enim auctor Latinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio ſcribi. Heri aliquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræeum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captam de Sunio. *Quod ſi δῆμοι oppida volumus eſſe tam eſt oppidum* Sunium *quam* Piræeus. If ſo be we will haue δῆμοι to be Townes, *Sunium* as well as *Piræeus* is a Towne. Theſe were formerly kingdomes as *Pauſanius* teſtifies. Πάγεσι δὲ καὶ δῆμοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάραι πολλαὶ, ὡς ἔγωγε καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἴδια πλούσιοι τῶν Κεκροπιδῶν. Moreover I haue written, that ſome of the Townes were governed by a King before the raigne of *Cecrops*. And no marvell, for ſome of them farre ſurpaſſed other Cities, as *Ariſtides* affirmeth. Theſe were moſt peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκράριοι, as *Ariſtoph. Schol.* or Ναυκράριοι, as *Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliſthenes* changed them into δῆμοι, as out of *Ariſtotle* the *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* The number of them is, as *Euſtathius* out of *Strabo*, and *Caſaubon*, an hundred ſeaventie foure. Some whereof having the ſame name are diſtinguiſhed according to their ſituations κατύπερθεν and ὑπένερθεν, as we may ſay the upper and the lower Wakefield, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Leſſer. The μικροὶ or leſſe are theſe. *Alimuſii, Zoſter, Proſpaltii, Anagyraſii, Cephale, Prafieis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinuſii, Athmoneis, Acharnæ, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus.* The reſt were greater. Take then promiſcuous according to their Tribes.

b Lib. 7. Ep. 3.

c Atticis p 30 l. 42.

d In Padath. T. 1. p. 326.

e Nub pag. 225. a.

f L. 8. p. 430.

g In Il b. pag. 215.

b In Athenæum. l. 6. c. 9.

i Pauſan. Att. p. 30.

KE-

ΚΕΚΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰξωνή. Δαιδαλίδαι Ἐπιεικίδαι. Ξυπέτη. Πίθος. Σπαλητιόθεν. Τετράμοιρα ἢ Ἀθμονία. Ἀλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες. Φλύα. *Æxone. Dadalidæ, Epiecidæ, Xypete, Pithus, Spalettus, Trinemei, Athmonon* or *Athmonia. Alæ Æxonides. Phlya.*

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Ἀγραύλη ἢ Ἀγρύλη. Εὐωνυμία ἢ Εὐώνυμος. Θημαχοὶ ἢ Θήμαχος, Κηφισία. Λαμπρὰ. Καθύπερθεν. Λαμπρὰ ὑπένερθεν ἢ Φάληρος. Παμβωτάδαι. Περγασή. Συβρίδαι. Φηγοῦς. Ἀναγυροῦς. *Agraule*, or *Agryle. Euonymia* or *Euonymus. Themaci* or *Themacus. Cephisia.* The upper *Lampra.* The lower *Lampra*, in which *Sigonius* erres calling one the maritimate, the other the inferiour, which to be one and the ſame I haue ſhewne aboue *Pambotadæ. Pergaſe. Sybridæ. Phegus. Anagyrus.*

Παιονίδης.

Ἀγγελὴ Κυδαθηναιῶν. Κύδαθεν. Οἷ ἢ Οἷς. Παιανιά. Καθύπερθε. Παιανιὰ ὑπένερθεν. Περιθάλεθος. Στειριά. Φηγαία, Μυῤῥινοῦς. *Angele, Cydathenæum. Cytharum. Oa* or *Oeis.* the upper *Pæania*, the under *Pæania. Probalinthus. Stiria. Phegæa. Myrrhinus.*

Ἀγνίς.

Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες. Ἀραφὴν Βατή. Γαργηττὸς. Διομέα. Ἐρεχθία. Ἐρίκεια. Ἑχελιὰ ἢ Ἰκαριος. Κολυττὸς. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλωθρά. Τίθρας. Φηγαία. Φιλαΐδαι. Χολλίδαι. *Alæ Araphenides. Araphen. Bate. Gargettus. Dionea. Erecthia. Ericria. Icaria* or *Icarius. Ionidæ. Colyttus. Cydantidæ. Plothea. Tithras. Phegæa. Philæde. Chollidæ.*

Κεραμεῖς.

Ἀγνοῦς. Εἰρεσίδαι. Ἑρμῆς ἢ Ἑρμοῖ. Ἡφαιστιάδαι. Θόρικος. Ἰτέα. Κίκυννα. Σφηττός. Χόλαργος Χόλαργοι Χολαργία. Κεφαλὴ Πρόσπαλτα. *Agnus Erisidæ. Hermus* or *Hermi. Hephestiadæ. Thoricus. Itea. Cicyana. Sphettus. Cholargus Cholargi Cholargia Cephale. Prosphalta.*

Λεοντίς.

Αἰθαλίδαι. Αἰθαλία. Ἀφίδνα. Δημαλίς. Ἐκάλη. Εὐπυρίδαι. Κηφισοί. Κρωπία.

Γρωπίδαι. Λευκόνοιοι. Οἷον Κεκροπίδαι. Παιονίδαι. Πάλληνις. Πολιάς. Σκαμβωνίδαι. Σύνιον. Τβα Τβάδαι. Φρεάρριοι Μαραθών. Ἀλιμοῦς. Æthalidæ Æthalia. Aphidna. Dirades. Hecale. Sypyradæ. Cetti. Cropia. Leuconium. Oeum Ceramicum. Paeonidæ Peleces. Potamus. Scambonidæ. Sunium. Hyba Aybadæ. Phrearri. Marathon. Alimus.

Ἱπποθοωντίς.

Ἀζηνιεύς. Ἀμαξαντεύς. Ἀνάκαια. Ἀχερδοῦς. Δεκέλεια. Ἐλαιοῦς Ἐλαιεῖς. Ἐλαιοῦσα. Ἐρχιάδαι. Θυμοιτάδαι. Κηφισιάδαι. Κορυδαλλός. Οἷον δεκελ. Οἰνόη Ἐλαιοῦς Σφενδάλη. Azenia. Amaxantea. Anacæa. Acherdus. Decelia. Eleæus. Eleusis. Eraadæ. Thymætadæ. Ceriadæ. Corydallus. Oeum Decelicum. Oeum ad Eleutherias. Sphendale.

Ἀντιοχίς.

Ἀγγιλία ἢ Ἀγγιλος. Ἀλωπεκή Ἀλοπεκη. Ἀμφιτρόπη. Ἀναφλυστος. Ἀτηνή. Ἀτηνία. Βῆσαι Θοραί. Κειῶα Λευκοπύργα, Μελαινεῖς ἢ Μέλαιναι Παλλήνη Πεντέλη. Σημαχίδαι Φάληρον. Ægilia, or Ægius. Alopece or Alopecæ. Amphitrope. Anaphlystus. Atene or Atenia. Bessa. Thoræ. Criôa. Leucopyra. Melæneis or Melænæ Pallene, Pentele-Semachidæ. Phalerum.

Αἰαντίς.

Οἰνόη Μαραθ. Τιτακίδαι Τειχόρυσος. Ραμνοῦς. Oenoe at Marathon. Titacidæ. Tricorythus. Rhamnus. Of this Tribe were some townes takē away & put to other, Aphydna, Perfidæ, &c

Οἰνηίς.

Βῆθα, Βοιαίδαι. Ἐπικηφία. Θρία ἢ Θρίον. Ἱπποτομάδαι. Λακία. Λακιάδαι. Λυσία. Μελίτη. Οη ἢ Οἰη. Περιθοίδαι. Πτελέα. Φυλή. Ἀχαρνα. Τυρμίδαι. Butea, Butadæ, Epicephisia. Thria or Thrio. Hippotomadæ. Lacia, Laciadæ. Eusia. Melite, Oe or Æa. Perithoidæ. Ptelea. Phyle. Acharna. Tyrmidæ.

Πτολεμαΐς

Βερενικίδαι. Θυργωνίδαι. Berenicida. Thyrgonida. Κονθύλη. Conthyle.

Ἀτταλίς

Ἀπολλωνιῆς. Apollonienſis. Theſe are all which Authors make

make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are, which I knowe not how to diſtribute, none of the ancients either directing or furniſhing me. But theſe are they *Agra. Anchesmus. Amphiade. Archilia. Aſtypalæa. Atalanta. Achardus. Belbina. Brauron. Brileſſus. Enna. Echelidæ. Zoſter. Thrion. Calè. Cedæ. Cothocidæ. Coele. Cynoſarges. Ceramicus* without the Citty the ſame with *Academia. Laurium. Lenæum. Limnæ. Munichia. Parenes. Pnyx. Patroclus.* his ditch or trench. *Scirum. Sforgilus. Hydruſa. Hymettus. Hyſiæ. Phaura. Phorniſii. Phrittii. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus.* To which are put the Ilands, called *Pharmacuſæ*, two in number, and *Pſyttalia*. The Scholiaſt of [a] *Ariſtophanes* ſpeakes as if *Io* were a *Demus*, but I ſay not with him. The greateſt uſe we haue of theſe among Authors, is in their forme of Law, matters of Contracts, and the like; that there might be no fraud or deceit; that none either unjuſtly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we ſuch punctuall clauſes in their Writs. N. the ſonne of N. dwelling at *Alopeca* ἐκ Κοίλης, ἐκ Μελίτης ἐκ Κεραμέων, of *Cœle*. of *Melitæ*. of *Cerameis*. In theſe Villages were Temples of the Gods. [b] *Livie. Templa pagatim ſacrata.* And againe. *Delubra ſibi fuiſſe, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis caſtellis viiſq; conſecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores ſui deſerta reliquerit.* So much witneſſeth [c] *Pauſanias*; who tells us that they worſhipped ſome peculiar Deity, and yet nevertheleſſe did τῷ Διὶ Ἑλλανίῳ ἄγειν ἐν πυῷ, honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar Feſtivals, as *Brauron* the ſolemnities *Brauronea*, to *Diana. Diomea* to *Iupiter Diomeus. Chitonea*, &c.

[a] In Ranis. p. 235.

[b] Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12. 13.

[c] In Atticis. p. 77. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννις, Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία *Athenienſium ſtatus mutatio.*
Ισρυς, Σωτήρων, Μῶσαι, δόξη.

THe ancients had but three ſorts of government. *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia,* as [d] *Æſchines*, which *Polybius* calls βασιλείαν, ἀριστοκρατείαν, δημοκρατείαν. where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία the rule of a King, yet muſt we underſtand the ſame. For in old time all kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath obſerved. A word taken up by the *Græcians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer*, nor *Heſiod* knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἴδιον ποιηταὶ δόξης, for calling the Kings, or βασιλῆς before the *Troian* wars, Tyrants, or *Tyrannos*. Βασιλεία or a kingdome, is where obeiſance is free, yeelded rather out of a good advice, thē for fear or might. Ἀριστοκρατεία an Ariſtocratie, when moſt wiſe and juſt men are fitly choſen to ſit at the Helme of the Weale publike. Δημοκρατεία a Democratie, when the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Country in matters belonging both to Gods & men are truely obſerved, and that rules the roſt, which ſhall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσι, ſaies *Polybius*; as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth reliſh well with the moſt. But the grave Hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch government, as they uſe to be, inclining to the worſt Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies; as when the people are led away by the perſwaſions of ſome pleaſing [a] popular man, and are as it were willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhall lay on them, a Tyrant indeed ſaid, [b] *Vi conſecutus*, who gets it by violence, [c] *Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate*

[d] In Cteſiphontem. p. 4.

[a] Ariſtot. l. Pol. l. 5. c. 4.
[b] Probus in Miltiade.
[c] Probus ibid p. 17.

bertate usa est. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who haue perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring & rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocratie*, or goverment of the best men, such as are well brought up, and exercised in vertue. The end of an *Aristocratie* being, as [d] *Aristotle* hath it, *Vertue* which of no long continuance doth soon degenerate, [e] εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν τερπείσης διὰ φύσιν naturally inclining to an *Olegarchie*, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches And because that many in a state cannot be wealthie, therefore the number of thē cannot be great. These are great Lords and little Kings, whose power swaies all, & not the Lawes; who unjustly favour those that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administred [f] πρὸς ἡγεμόνος τινὸς ἰδιοτεχνοῦντος, by their president. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on a rage, and not bearing τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀδικίας, the injuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls ὅταν πᾶς πλήθει λόγος, the power of a multitude; whose end is freedome; when all can equally partake of the same priviledges & immunities, who are true citizens: whence *Terence* stiles it *æquam libertatem*: for which the *Greek Orators* haue properly used the word πολιτεία, as [g] *Vlpian* obserueth. But the vulgar for the most part strangely insolent, prone to wrong, & ready to trespasse against the Lawes, bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kinde of goverment an *Ochlocratie*, the rule of Rascality. All these in their times did *Athens* feele, for they were governed by Kings 487 yeares: the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight betweene the *Dorienses* and *Athenians* offered himselfe willingly to be slaine, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienses* should be conquerours unlesse the *Athenian* King were killed; hee therefore cloathing himselfe *famulari veste ne posset agnosci*, saies [a] *Cicero*, with a servants habit least hee should bee

[d] Pol. l. 4. c. 9.
[e] Polyb. l. 6.
[f] Æschines in Ctes.
[g] In Demost. p. 59.
[a] Tusc. Q. l. 1.

knowne, put himſelfe among the enimies, by one of which in a brawle he was murdered. After whom none enioyed the name of King, [b] *quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum eſt*, which was done in memorie to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Iudges* ruled in the Title ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whoſe authority was for tearme of life. Theſe continued three hundred and fifteene yeares. Theſe being ended, it pleaſed the State to chooſe a man, whoſe office ſhould continue but ten yeares; ſeaven ſucceeded each other, and made up the number of ſeaventie yeares; who becauſe they abuſed their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore [c] *annui Magiſtratus*, yearely Magiſtrates. Theſe continued untill *Piſiſtratus*, for a fained feare of the ſeditious, begged a guard of the people for his ſafty. For when the faction ſprung up. Of which I haue ſpoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himſelfe with laſhes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν and beſeeching the people to afford him ſome defence againſt their violence, who did (but did not) aſſault him, procured a company of choſen Citizens who armed with clubs, not weapons, poſſeſſed the Caſtle, and ſo Tyranny came in, which *Piſiſtratus* enioyed [d] thirtie yeares and deceaſed, leaving behind him two ſonnes, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Theſſalus*. *Hipparchus* was ſlaine by *Ariſtogeton*, after whoſe death the *Athenians* liued under a tyranny [e] foure yeares, from which they were delivered by the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, the off-ſpring of *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the ene that whenſoever they came for counſell he ſhould wiſh them to free the *Athenians* of that ſervitude. The *Democratie* came in eight hundred ſixtie eight yeares after *Cekrops*, eſtabliſhed by *Solon*, who excluded the fift ranck of plebeitie from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Ariſtides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sici-*

ly

[b] Iuſtin. l. 2.

[c] Iuſtin. l. 2.

[d] Heraclides in Pol.

[e] Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

by the Τετρακόσιοι or foure hundred took upon them ſtate, deceaving the people, as [f] *Ariſtotle* and [g] *Thucydides* affirme. For perſwading them that they ſhould reconcile *Tiſſaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themſelves by that meanes, and that the Perſian Monarch would afford ſupply for the war, they moſt willingly condeſcended to this motion in the one and twentie yeare of the *Peloponneſian* war. Theſe Princes were called [a] πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι δ' ὄντες, fiue thouſand, though not exceeding foure hundred. The reaſon is, becauſe they boaſted that none ſhould be rewarded, but who ſo bare armes; nor any admitted to publike power but fiue thouſand, ſuch as with perſon and ſtate could be beneficiall to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an [b] Act of the people, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted none more ready to driue out; whereupon they termed him Κόθορνον *Cothurnum*, from a kind of ſtart-up which did fit both feet. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόθορνος ἀμφοῖν μὲν πρὸς ποδὶν ἁρμόττει. The word may ſute with a Jack of both ſides. Theſe Τετρακόσιοι were conſtrained for feare of [d] *Alcibiades* to reſigne the right unto the people, and to goe into wilfull baniſhment. But when *Lyſander* had overcome *Athens* (the [e] *Lacedemonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Athenians* a *Democratie*) he ordained theſe thirtie to be chief. [f] *Polyarches, Critoas, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hiero, Mneſilochus, Chremo, Theramenes, Areſias, Diocles, Phædrias, Chærileos, Anætius, Piſo, Sophocles, Eratoſthenes, Charicles, Onomocles, Theognis, Æſchines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Eraſiſtratus, Phido, Draconditides, Eumathes, Ariſtoteles, Hippomachus, Mneſitheides.* Theſe began at firſt to put to death the worſt and moſt abhorred, ſaies [g] *Saluſt*, without triall of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; [h] ſome for envie, others for riches. Theſe to make their partie firme choſe about three thouſand to whom alone they permitted to haue weapons diſarming all the reſt, to the end they might eaſily command their liues. But by their lawes (for they made ſome ſtilled

[f] Pol. l. c. 57.
[g] Lib. 8.
[a] Plut. in Alcyb. p. 148.
[b] Xen. Ελλ. β. 274. l. 38.
[c] Xen. p. 275.
[d] Juſtin. l. 5.
[e] Ariſt. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.
[f] Xen. Ελλ. β. p. 270.
[g] In Catil. Conſp.
[h] Xen. p. 272.

κρυπτοὶ

i Xen. p. 275. i κατοικοι νῆσοι, which were nullified by a decree, as wee ſhall ſpeak hereafter) none was to ſuffer ὁπλῖς καλλίσω, who was regiſtred in the liſt of three thouſand. So cruell were they, that the people fled into k *Phyle* a Caſtle in the *Athe-*
k Dem. p. 467 *nian* borders; and making an head, under the conduct of *Thraſybulus*, at laſt ſhook off this yoke, & remained free until the death of *Alexander* even foureſcore yeares, whom *Antipater* ſucceeded; who in battle at the Citty *Lamia* gaue the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gaue them quarters on theſe termes that they ſhould ſubmit to a few *Peeres*, whoſe revenue amounted to two thouſand *Drachm'es* at leaſt, the chief of whō was *Demetrius Phalereus*; that they ſhould likewiſe receaue a garriſon into *Munychia* for the aſſwaging of riots and uproares. But foure yeares after *Antipater dying*, the Citie fell into the power of *Caſſander*, of whom they often ſtroue to acquit themſelues. But in vaine. For he brought them to ſuch an exigencie; that they were glad to come to compoſition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giuing them their Citie, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, ſo that they would be cōfederats to him, that none, whoſe revenewes come not to ten *minæ* or pounds, ſhould undergoe any function in the Common-weale; and he ſhould be their overſeer whō he would be pleaſed to nominate. The
a Vide Laert. in vita, & Strabonem, man appointed was *Demetrius Phalereus*, a who made the Citty to ſhine in her full luſtre, inſomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred ſtatues. Hee wrote a Treatiſe of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would haue given no ſmall light to my poore endeavours. After he in trouble & vexation had ſpent fourteen yeares, he was put out by *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, who reſtored the ancient cuſtomes to them againe. To him they aſcribed ſueh worſhip, as alſo to his father, that they changed the name of their *Iudge* from *Archon*
b Plut in Demetrio. into b Σωτῆρον Ἰσρέα the Prieſt of the Gods that ſaued them, calling the yeare after his name, & adding * two Trib sto
* Pollux, l. 8. the

the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as [c] *Stephanus*, But when *Cassander* had overthrowne the sonne and father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach neere the City. After this *Lachares* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming againe the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the ninteenth yeare of his reigne put in presidiarie souldiers to the Citie, which tenne yeares after he tooke out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenians* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* and *Antigonus Dosôn*, out of whose hands [d] *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the Citie, and made it stand by it selfe untill *Philip*, the last king of the *Macedonian Monarchie* except one, did somewhat shake it, as yon may read in [e] *Livie*. But hee was expelled by the Romans, who tooke the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained untill the warre between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by feare they were driven to receaue [f] *Archestratus*, *Mithridates* his Generall, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded φόνικὴ σφαγὴ, a mercilesse slaughter, saies *Appian*, that the [g] streets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a neere resemblance of their former state, in favour with the *Roman* Emperours. *Iulius Cæsar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*, in whose successours time, *Claudius*, the second of that name, this City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who whē they had heaped up innumerable companies of bookes to burne, were dehorted by this reason, [a] *that the Greeke studies spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for warre*. *Constantine* the *Great* likewise had this City in high esteeme, taking to himselfe the Title of Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηνῶν, as [b] *Julian* saies, which in the words of *Nicephorus Gregoras* is [c] τὸν τῶν μεγάλων Ἀθηνῶν (ὄνομα) the *Grand Duke*, whom simply afterwards

[c] In Berenice.

[d] Plut. in vita.

[e] Decad. 4. l. 1

[f] Vide Appianum Alex. in Mithridatico. circa pag. 122 123. &c.

[g] Plut. in vita P. 335.

[a] Cedrenus Baptista Egnatius. Rom. Prin. l. 2.

[b] In Oratione Constantium.

[c] Hist Rom. l. 7. p. 166

wards they called the [d] *Duke* of *Athens*, in that Hiſtorians me. Emperourt have taken them wives citizens of this place; and the [e] daughters of their Dukes have been deſired by that eminent ranck. And indeed no marvell. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus* is ſaid to have taken the Citie from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, εἶχον δὲ ὁ καὶ τυράννους τοὺς Ἴβηρας; who having no iſſue male of his wife *Euboia* but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by an other woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his ſon recovered it againe. *Nerius* ſucceeded him in the Dukedom who thruſt out *Chalcocondylas* his father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we muſt know that *Mahomet* the ſonne of *Amurat* the ſecond, got *Athens*, whoſe beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his owne, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius* from thoſe above named dying, leaving one ſonne an infant, his mother in the childs Title exerciſed Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* noble man (ſonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whoſe governement the Citie *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Calcocondylas Priamus*) who came thither for merchandize. Him by diſcourſe and flatery ſhe inticed to her love, promiſing that ſhe would take him to her husband, and give up the Pricedome of *Athens* unto him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his owne wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* ſlew his wife, ſwelling with ambition & thirſtie of honour. Which being done, he returnes to *Athens*, marries this woman, enjoyes the government of the citie; who being hated of the *Athenians*, & complained of at the court, to avoyd envy termed himſelf the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the coort; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the emperour therefore underſtood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enſtalled, impriſoned

[d] Hiſt. Rom. l. 7. p. 167.
[e] Nic. Greg. l. circa.
[f] Calcochon. παλαίβηρες ἀπὸ Ναβάρας
* *In the time of* Petro Zani *came Ambaſſadors from Athens to doe homage to the* Venetian Senate. M. Leuknor *in hiſtory & lives of the Venetian Princes.*
[g] Chalcocon. l. 9. p. 299.

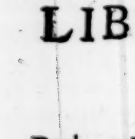
priſoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by meanes not knowne to the [a] author) ſlew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Zogan* governour of *Peloponneſus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the Citie to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the laſt Duke.

[a] Chaleocon. p. 300.

LIBER SECVNDVS.

CAP. I.

Duodecem Dii Athenienſium Idololatria ſeptifariam commiſſa. Dii Adſcriptitii. Θεὸς Ἀγνωστ.



Herodotus in [a] *Terpſichore* is of opinion that the Greekes derived their religion from the *Ægyptians*. But [b] *Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimonie may I affirme that it ſeemes to be a falſitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to haue brought the myſteries of piety into *Greece*; who was himſelfe a *Thracian*, from whom the word [c] Θρησκεία is ſuppoſed to be drawne, which ſignifies devotiõ. Τῶ δὴ τὸ πᾶν Θεὸς ἐκάλεσαν Θρῆϊκ. οἱ γὰρ Θρᾷκες ἤσαν τῆς Δρύσου, ſaies [d] *Nonnus*. They called Θρησκεύειν, to worſhip God, &c. Appoſitely to which [c] *Ariſtophanes* ἐν Βαλλάχαις.

Ορφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνου τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

Orpheus ſhewed us ſacrifices and to abſtaine from ſlaughter. Neither is [f] *Euripides* diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

Μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων θεὰς
Ἔδειξεν Ορφεύς--- *Orpheus reuealed the hidden myſteries.* *Herodotus* names not the Gods; the worſhip of whom the *Greekes* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelue in number

[a] Pag. 48.

[b] In Tractu περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου. p. 669.

[c] Sch. Eurip. in Alceſt. p. 661.

[d] Ζωναῖ ἐν ορ. in Stel. 1.

[e] Pag. 260.

[f] P. 281.

number they were, quoth he, but theſe onely are reckoned. *Iupiter. Bacchus, Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Iſis* or *Ceres. Saïs* or *Minerva. Latona.* as I haue gathered, which all at once to haue beene made knowne to the *Greekes*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is too hard a taske for me to proue. The *Athenians* I am ſure had twelue Gods in eſpeciall honour, whoſe [g] pictures they had drawne out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; & had an altar erected, called [h] Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* war, a man diſmembred himſelfe with a ſtone; which was accounted prodigious. By theſe twelue would they ſweare in common diſcourſe. [i] Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The Heathens thinking that they did honour thoſe Gods, by whom they ſware; as I haue elſewhere ſpoken. But they were not confined to ſo ſmall a number as twelue. For how could it be, when they ran through the ſeaven ſorts of Idolatrie? Firſt worſhipping the Sunne, and puniſhing with death the neglect thereof; as you may read in [k] *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, deifying the effects of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets Δηὼ, *Ceres*, τὸν σῖτον, corne or food. Thirdly the Poeticall Gods. *Furies, and revengers of wickednesse*, as *Alaſtores*, *Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Paſſions, as *Loue*, *Pittie* *Iniurie* likewiſe and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fiftly the accidents of grouth and nouriſhment, hence Αὐξὼ, and *Thallo* two deities, αὐξάνειν, to increaſe, and θάλλειν to flouriſh; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lacheſis*, and *Atropos*, the three fatall ſiſters, and Ἐιμαρμένη, *Neceſſitie*, taken ſometime for death it ſelfe. 6[ly], the Theogonie or pedegree of their Gods, able to make up the ſumme of which *Homer* ſpeakes. Τρὶς χίλιοι, &c. Three thouſand. Seaventhly an ignorance of the providence and bountie of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, & *Æſculapius* the God of Phyſick. And if this ſerue not, I can adde an eighth way, namely hoſpitality & good entertainment of ſtrange Gods. Δίωνος δ' ὥσπερ καὶ τἆλλα φιλοξενοῦντος διατελοῦντος, ὅτου

[g] Pauſ. Attic. p.3.l.18.

[h] Plut. in Nicia. p.387. l.26.

[i] Ariſtoph. Equ p.300.A

[k] Vide Bodinum in Demonologia.

[a] Pag 471. φιλόξενοι πρὸς θεούς. saies [a] *Strabo.* as the *Athenians loves strangers, so forraigne Gods.* Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἀσέβουσι τῶν θεῶν, &c. [b] *Aristides.* For they serve not only the most ancient Deities in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have assumed adventitious ones such as [c] *Orthane Conissalus*, and *Tychon.* So prone were they to conceive superstition, that when [d] *Paul* preached *Jesus and the resurrection of the dead*; they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection to be a God. And least they should omit any, they erected Altars to the unknowne Gods, of which [e] *Pausanias.* Neither may we doubt of it, the scripture bearing witnesse. The cause of this they say to be a fearfull vision appearing to *Philippides*, sent ambassador to the *Lacedemonians* concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he ([f] *Pan*, from whom πανικὸν ἀ φάσμα) was neglected and other *Gods* worshipped; promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious and fearing the like event, built a Temple, & Altar TO THE UNKNOWNE GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης, θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWNE AND STRANGE GOD. As *Justin* [g] *Martyr* and *Oecumenius.* Much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their cities and houses, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order.

[b] In Panath. T. 1. p. 188.

[c] Strab. p 587

[d] Act. ci 17. v. 18.

[e] In Attic. p. 1 l. 35.

[f] Vide Eurip. Sch. in Med. p. 482.

[g] P. 137.

CAP.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεὺς. Νέμειος Ἱκέσιος Πολιεῦχος. Βουλαῖος. Φρήτριος. Φίλιος. Ὁμόγνιος. καταιβάτης. Ἕρκειος. Ἀγοραῖος. Ξένιος. *Moduli talis edendi*, *Tessera hospitalis seu Symbolum*. *Apollo* ἀποτρόπαιος. πατρῷος. Ἀλεξίκακος. Θυραῖος. *Pæan*, *& ejusdem verbi origo*. *Mercurius* Παλαιγενέτηλος. Εὐήνιος Σῶος. Πυλαῖος.

Above other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their kingdomes, they were charged to make choise of *Jupiter*, [a] σωτῆρα δὲ καὶ Διὰ Βασιλέα. And so by [b] *Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς. Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter* [c] *Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* named Νέμειος) Him as *God of Supplicants*, hence [d] Ἱκέσιος, Him as *Protector of Cities*, hence πολιεῦχος. Him as *Governour*, *and director of their Counsells*, hence Βουλαῖος. Him as *chiefe of their Societies*, hence φρήτριος, and of their ferndship too, hence φίλιος: and of kindred likewise, hence ὁμόγνιος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης, as much as comming downe in thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their dellivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence [f] Ἐλευθέριος. Him they confessed the *greatest of all*, hence [g] ὕπατος: Him the *Overseer of their buying and selling*, hence * Ἀγοραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *courts of their houses*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from Ἕρκος a wall, as if hee were the watch and defender of the house. *Phavorinus*. Ἕρκειος Διὸς βωμὸς ἔξω που τῆς θύρας αἰεὶ, αἰδέσιος ὢν ἀεὶ, ὃς ἔνδον ἐστὶ διὰ ἑφόρου τὴν ἕρκους. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which [h] *Ovid*.--*Ante ædes stabat Jovis Hospitis ara*, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of Strangers and hospitality*. So solemne were they in their entertainements, that

[a] Sch. Aristoph. p. 122.
[b] In Nubibus.
[c] Dem. in Mid. p. 511.
[d] Vlpian in Dem. p. 273. Paus. p. 18. l. 40. *Who thinkes* Sylla *to bee eaten with lice by a judgement that slew* Arithon *supplyantly flying to the Temple of* Minerva.
[e] Aristoph. Avib. p. 616.
[f] Plut. & Paus.
[g] Pausan.
* Aristoph. p. 317.
[h] Metamorph.

that they would not receaue a ſtranger without great ceremonies, ſuch as giving of the right hand each to other [i] πίστεως δηλωτικὸν, a moſt certain ſigne of fidelity and ſecurity; as alſo waſhing & cleanſing with ſalt, or ſalt water, as [k] *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ἁγνὸς πάρος. Salt they highly eſteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hoſpitality with [l] ποῦ ἅλες, &c. where is the ſalt? And yet it may be thought to be ſaid of the community of the table [m] ἐσθίων ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοις τραπέζης καὶ ὁμοτραπέζους καὶ συνεστίους, cuſtomes ſhewing that fellow commoners, & ſuch as feed at the ſame table muſt not iniure one another, to which the old ſaying may well agree, [n] *multos modios ſalis ſimul edendos eſſe, ut amicitiæ munus expletum ſit*, Men muſt eat many buſhels of ſalt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendſhip is not to be ſoone eſtabliſhed. But I take ſalt, of the luſtratiõ, to which alſo they added fire, as you may ſee in [o] *Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this all, for they ſacrificed moreover, calling *Iupiter* to witneſſe, & uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice. ΡΕΙς δια πρύτιον ἁμάρτοιν οἱ ἀμφιτρῶ ξένος. *Let my treſpaſſe be againſt Iupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemne, or neglect ſtrangers.* And for the continuation of this even to their poſterity, they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one party keeping one peece, the other party the other half, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, [q] ἐπιδείξοντες τὸ ἥμισυ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνανεώσοντο τὴν ξενίαν, *bringing with them their halfe huckle bone they might renew their hoſpitality.* This they call σύμβολον *Symbolum* a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalfe, as *Iaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Media* to doe. Πέμψω τεκέσσι σύμβολ. ἐς λεόντιον δ' ἔλθ. And to ſend a *Symbolum* or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertaine you. But of this enough, as alſo of *Iupiter*, whom celebrated in [a] other Epithites I know by the *Athenians*, *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Iupiter*, invocated *in danger or ſudden events*, hence [b] Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, to turn away, as if the

[i] Euſtath. in Il. θ.

[k] Pag 27. But Euſtath. ſaies that they did ſet ſalt before any other meat to ſtrangers.

[l] Demoſth. p. 241.

[m] Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28

[n] Cic. de Amicitia. Euſtath. ſaies that it betokens loue permanent. For ſalt preſerues: And as it is made of many lettings in of water, ſo they who come frõ divers places by hoſpitality are made one.

[o] In Il. p. 100.

[o] In Acharn. p. 414. vid. Sch

[p] Euſtath. in Il. λ.

[q] Eurip. Sch. p. 446.

[a] As πολιάδος Ariſtophan. ὄμβριος. Pauſan &c.

[b] Ariſtophan. πλ. p. 86.

he ſhould deliver them from eminent evill, for which reaſon he is called *Alexicacus*. [c] *Apollinem aſſellentem mala intelligas quam Athenienſes* Ἀλεξίκακον appellant. He was one of the firſt Gods they had, hence is he termed [d] πατρῷος, but [e] others think becauſe he was the father of *Ion*. [f] *Macrobius* is of opinion, becauſe the *Sun* the ſame with *Apollo* is the Author of progenerating all things, *quod ſol humoribus exſiccatis progenerandis omnibus præluit caulam*. To him ſtood Altars in their ſtreets, hence is he ἀγυιεύς, as if he were ſet over their waies [g] *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomœria ſunt,* ἀγυιὰς. Thit *Agyeus* was a ſharp pillar. [h] κίων ξυὸς ὀξὺς λίθου. Although the *Greekes*, as *Macrobius* ſaies, did worſhip him as θυραῖον, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the dores of their houſes, yet I finde no monument of that Title in *Pauſanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which though I have taken occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere, yet this is a moſt proper place. I will not trouble you with the triviall derivations of the *Greekes*, which you read in [k] *Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the *Oracle* at *Delphos* againſt the *Amazones*, in the daies of *Theſeus*, The God bid them implore his ſuccour in theſe words [l] Ἰὴ Παιάν. *Hanc vocem, id eſt,* Ἰὴ Παιάν, *confirmaſſe fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adverſus Amazonas, Theſeo regnante. Namq; inituros bellum juſſit his ipſis verbis ſemetipſum auxiliatorum invocari, hortariq;*. I doubt not but the words are changed ſomewhat, eſpecially if we conſider the ancient *Io Pæan*. *Pæan*, ſaies the [m] *Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes* is a ſong or hymne praying for the ceaſing of a plague, or war, nay for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of *Io* [n] *Scaliger* hath already found. *Iao*, & *Io* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Iehova*; *Pæan* then comes from פנה to look, ſo that *Io Pæan* is in force *Iehova Penoh* LORD LOOKE UPON Us, it being a craft of the Divell to come as neere as poſſibly he may to God, ſo to bereave him of his deare honour, if he could. The remnants of theſe words the [o] *Symerons*

[c] Macrob. Sat. l. p. 252.
[d] Ariſtoph. Nub p. 203.
[e] Ariſtop. Sch. p. 611. g.
[f] Satur. l. p. 257.
[g] Macrob. Sat l. c. 9.
[h] Schol. Eurip. Phæ. p. 322.
[i] Sat. l. c. 9.
[k] In fin. lib. 14. Dip.
[l] Macrob. Sat. l. c. 17. pag. 253.
[m] In Plut. pag. 68.
[n] Græc. Trag.
[o] Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and sing Τὸ Peko, at this day. *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of [p] Παλαιγενὴς Ὁ or [q] Ἑρμῆς Ἐριούνιος, deemed to be the God whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow rich, wherefore this God is termed [q] Ἐριούνιος, *Very profitable*, from ἔρι, an augmenting word, and ὀνῶ to profit. He had a statue erected to him in the market place called [a] Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named [b] Προπύλαιος, as likewise Σκοπαῖος from σκοπεῖν, to turne, because he was set up behinde the dore to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villanie. More of his names you may read in [c] *Aristoph. Schol.*

p Aristop. in. p. 110. Ach. P. 410.
q. Arist Rasp p. 260.
a Aristop. 304
b Paus. p. 20. l. 35.
c Pag. 110.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule. Ἀνάγκης.

Saturne was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witnesse the feasts kept in honour to him called [d] Κρόνια: witnesse also [e] Temple which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquitie I cannot much affirme any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of [f] Κρονικὰ γνώμαι, *Saturnine animæ*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which [g] *Demosthenes*; where was one of the *Athenian* prisons; some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of [g] *Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient patron of this Citie, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in navigation, hence [h] Ἀσφάλιος. [i] *Mars* also had his worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a dream appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the sacriledge of one who had stole a golden cup out of his Temple: called therefore [k] Μυριώνης or *Index Hercules*, as *Tully*. Neither

d Paus. p. 16. l. 37.
e Aristop. in p. 61.
f P. 536. n. 26.
g παρὰ τοὺς Ἀπ.
h Aristop. p. 403.
i Pausan. p. 7. l. 27.
k De divinatione. l. 1.

Neither were they contented with ſuch a quantitie, but canonized more dayly, as the ſonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἄναντες [k] ἀ'ανακῶς γὰ ἔχειν πρὸ ὁπωσιλιδή'ως ἢ φυλάτ'οντας ὁπῶν· ἢ πρὸ βασιλεῖσιους ἄναντες δὰ τῶτο καλῶσιν. For they who have a care & watch of any thing do diligetly obſerve it ἀνακῶς ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄναντες, as keepers of their people. [m] The Scholiaſt of *Euripides* teaches us that ἄναξ properly ſignifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is ſaid to bee Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, *The Tutelar God of Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in [n] *Homer*. χρύσης ἧος ἀνάσσεις. The word ſimply put for God in [o] *Ariſtophanes*, [p] πρὸς ὧν δεύς· Ἄναξπας ἢ Σωτῆρας Καλῶμαι. To theſe may be put *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. *Lyeus*. *Theſeus*. *Alon*. *Heſycus*. *Ariſtomachus*. the Phyſitian *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom ſee [q] *Meurſius*) made of men, as *Sylanion* and *Pærrhaſius* that made the ſtatute of [r] *Theſeus*.

[k] Plut. Theſ. p. 11. l. 25.
[m] In Hippol. p. 507.
[n] Iliad. a.
[o] In Avib. p. 578.
[p] Eurip. Sch. p. 507.
[q] In Athen. Att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.
[r] Plut in Th. p. 2. l. 14.

CAP. IV.

De minerva, Cerere & Proſerpina, Baccho. Venere, Eumenidibus. Hecate, Juvene, Prometheo, &c.

[s] In panath.
[a] In verrem. 5
[b] Nonnus ad Naz. 881.
[c] Vide Plut. in Alcib.
[d] Cap. 7.
[e] Ariſtop. Sch. p. 85.
[f] Ariſt. p. 222.
[g] Idem p. 128.
[h] Clem. Alex. p. 19.
[i] Vide Æſch. in Eumen & Scho Soph. in Oed. Col.

MInerva the eſpeciall deity of the *Athenians*, had the Feſtivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in [s] *Meurſius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, whoſe rights *longe maximis & occultiſſimis cæremoniis continentur*, ſaies [a] *Cicero*, were greateſt and moſt hidden: therefore called *myſteria* from [b] μυεῖσθαι, to hide; [c] death and a curſe lying on him who ſhould diſcloſe thoſe abominable ſecrets. See *Meurſius* in his [d] *Eleuſiana* of the initiation into theſe ſtewes. They were of two ſortes. [e] Greater to *Ceres*, leſſe to *Proſerpina*. *Bacchus* alſo the ſonne of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double tide holy to him. *Dionyſia* [f] *parva* and [g] *Magna*. *Venus* had her honour, and ſacrifice in which they offered to her [h] money the price of an whore. [i] *Eumenides* were firſt a-

dored by *Oreſtes* after he eſcaped the *Iudgement* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemneſtra*. Theſe by [k] *Heſiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ Θεαὶ, the venerable Goddeſſes. To theſe they offered drinke offerings, without wine though at mid-night, a cuſtome peculiar to them alone, as [m] *Æſchylus* witneſſeth, though I am not ignorant that [n] *Bacchus* his feaſts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nyctelius*. But the Tragœdian.

[k] In Theogonia
[l] Paus. p. 27. l. 3.
[m] In Eumen. p. 275.
[n] Ariſtop. p. 218
[o] Loco Citato

ὁ νυκτίσιτα δεῖπνα ἐπ' ἰχάρᾳ πυεῖς
[l] δυοῖν ἄοιν ὑδραῖν κοινὰ θεῶν.

[p] In Oedipo Col. p. 271

Scholiaſt: ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσονυκτίῳ μόναις ἐπιτύπτειν ἀπήρχοντο. By [p] *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is ſet downe. Firſt having clean hands and pure, the worſhipper ought to draw out of a running fountain water, and having filled three cups with water and hony (hence termed [q] νηφάλια μειλίσσματα) the mouthes & eares of which are to be covered with the wooll of a young ſheep, turning himſelf towards the Eaſt, he powred out ſome of two of them, but the third wholy: then with both hands ſetting thrice nine branches of olive on the place where he caſt his χοὰς, he uttered his conceaved ſupplications. Other ſacrifices they had as ſhall be ſhortly ſpoken.

[q] Æſchylus loco præd

[r] Vide Interp. Hor. illud Diva triformis

[r] *Hecat* was worſhipped by them in *triviis*, where three waies met, ſuppoſed to be the Moon in heaven, *Diana* on earth, and *Hecate* below. [ſ] To her the richer ſort every new Moone made a feſt in the croſſe waies, ſetting bread and other proviſion, which the poore greedily fed on, and were ſo ravenous after, that [t] *Penia* in *Ariſtophanes* complaines, that they ſnatcht it, before it could be laid downe. Reference to this hath Ἑκατῆια κατιδεῖν, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in [u] *Demoſthenes*, which he ſeems to object, as a ſordid or wicked thing, indeed βωμολόχος, which ſignifies one that privily taketh away any of the ſacrifices frõ the Altar imports ſometimes *impious*, βωμολόχος ὁ ἀσεβής. *Schol.* * *Ariſtoph.* And yet the ſame Scholiaſt tells us that the needy ſuſtained themſelves by the ſacrifices. * διὸ καὶ ἱερῶν δὲ οἱ πτωχοὶ ζῶσιν. *Iunoes* rites

[ſ] Ariſtop. Sch. p. 63.
[t] Pag. 64

[u] In Orat. περὶ τῶν κλώνων. p. 693. n. 59.
[x] In Nubes p. 176.
[y] In Plut. 63.

were

were performed in great pomp with haire over their ſhoulders and downe the back, in a veſture that ſwept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces ſo minced, that [a] Ἥρας βαδίζειν, *Iunonium incedere*, is to goe ſtately. *Prometheus* was worſhipped in a kind of Torch-dance, or running with linkes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the fire, which ſuperſtitionſly they beleeve him to have ſtolne out of heaven. To ſay more of their Gods were needleſſe either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of a latter making, introducted by [b] *Philippides*, and * Σφραγίτιδας Νύμφας. *Sphragitides Nymphæ*, after the *Perſian* overthrow.

a Vide Schottum in Proverb. Iſaacum Cauſab. in Athen l. 12 c. 5. p. 138

b Cl. Alex. p. 22.

* Plut. Ariſt. p. 240. l. 30

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ Ἀστικοὶ. Ἑρμαῖ. *Phacaſiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their dores erected ſtatues which they called [c] Θεοὺς ἀπὸ σκιᾶς, becauſe they were expoſed to the Sunne. Neither had they theſe alone, but certain others ſacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes Herma*, *Mercurials*. The faſhion of them was divers. for firſt they were not ἀνθερμαμύνους, *porrecto vertice*, but made after to that forme by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelaſgi*, as [d] *Herodotus*. Neither did they want legges, untill the *Athenians* made thē ἀκώλους according to [e] *Pauſanias*. The manner was this. *A face of Mercury ſet upon a pillar of foure corners.* The head only and neck were ſhapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, [f] *Juvenal*,

Nil uiſi Cecropides, truncoq́, ſimillimus Hermæ.
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine, quàm quod
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago.

For which reaſon likewiſe the *Greeks* name them [g] ἀγυιὰς, without limbs. On the lower part of them were certain verſes engraven, containing the praiſes of ſome well deſerving

c Vide Heſychium & Dionyſium Petavium in Themiſtium

d In Euterpe p. 48.

e In Atticis p. 22. l. 14.

f Sat. 8. v. 52.

g Vide Vlpian. in Dem. p. 332 & G. *Langbaine* in Notis ad Longinum, περὶ ὕψους.

men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of thoſe that had merited, ſeem to me to have been ſet up in that gallery, which from the number of theſe images was commonly known by Ἑρμῶν Στοὰ the gallery of *Mercurials*. At the conſecration of theſe they uſed ſome ceremonies, and ſacrificed a kind of gruell, which was of no great preparation; Becauſe they would not ſtand long about it. Hence χύτρεις ἰδρύσας may be ſaid to ſacrifice with that which coſts but little. [h] *Ariſtophanes.* Χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ μεμφόμενον Ἑρμῆν; *Schol.* Ἑρμῆν, αὐτὸ τὸ εὐτελές, *in Pace.* Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unſeaſonable to adde ſomething of the forme of their gods; whom they made ſtanding with their hands upward, as if they were more willing to receive then beſtow any thing. To which [a] *Ariſtophanes* alludes, ſaying,---- καὶ δὴ θεοὶ. Γνώσει δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τι καὶ ἀγαλμάτων. Ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεθα δοῦναί τἀγαθὰ. Ἔστηκαν ἐκτέτανται τὰς χεῖρ' ὑπτίας, ὡς οὐ πιόσονται· ἀλλ' ὅπως πλήσῃ). *Even the Gods you ſhall know by their hands and ſtatues. For when we pray them to give us ſome good thing, they ſtand with their hands upward, as if they would ſend downe nothing, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewiſe that theſe Idols were clothed, is no newes doubtleſſe to one meanely verſed in the Greeke antiquities. To ſay that they weare ſhooes too, is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phæcaſiani*, from φαικάζειν, a kind of low ſhooes which the *Athenians* called κοπίδας, from κόπις, duſt, and πούς, the foot, becauſe they were neere the ground. διὰ τὸ πλάζειν μετ' ὀκλεῖν τῷ κόνει τοὺς πόδας, ſaies [b] *Clemens Alexandrinus.* But more ſure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. [c] *Iuvenal.*

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleſi
Phæcaſianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

[h] Pag. 693.

[a] Concion. p. 747.

[b] Pæd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152.

[c] Sat. 3 v. 217.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Superſtitione Athenienſium, & vaticiniis.

LOng ſince were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apoſtle for ſuperſtition, which though it properly ſignifies [d] a worſhipping of the Gods too much, yet under it theſe follies are comprehended. Purification after fearefull dreames, in [e] *Ariſtophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which ſenſe ſome underſtand *Perſius. Noctem flumine purgare.* Wearing of rings againſt witchcraft as a ſpell, called [f] δακτυλίους φαρμακίτας. [g] Spitting into their boſomes thrice at the ſight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepſie*. Of which alſo *Theocritus*, τὸν εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον. I know not whether the cuſtome of our ſilly people have reference to this foppery, who uſe to ſpit at the naming of the Divell. Certain it is that anciently they did ſpit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and εἰς πτὶ λόγῳ τιθέναι to contemne or ſet little by, as the [h] Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* on theſe words, πτύσας ὥσει δυσμενῆ. Waſhing with water the head as often as he ſhall goe into the ſtreets χὐ καφαλῆ; λούσασθαι *Theophraſtus*. Anointing of ſtones, divers it ſeems from thoſe heaps ſacred to *Mercury*, termed ἑρμαῖοι. This hath been of old. Done indeed as a token of thankfulneſſe by [k] *Iacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the ſtone that he put for his pillowes, and ſet it up, & powred oyle on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houſes, Serpents ſeene ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ſaies *Theophraſtus*, of which [a] *Terence*. *Intoiit in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to theſe a [b] Cat or Weeſel (the word ſignifieth both) croſſing his way, the Mouſe eating his ſalt-bag. Not unlike them now adaies, whoſe clothes the Rats or Mice ſhall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he ſhall have great ill betide him.

[d] Donat. in Ter. p. 67.
[e] Ranis p. 274 vide & Æſch. in Perſis.
[f] Ariſtop. Pl. p. 88. f.
[g] Thoph. Ch. p. 49.
[h] Antigonen.
[i] Charact.
[k] Gen. 28. 18.
[a] In Phor. Ac. 4. Sc. 4.
[b] γαλῆ. Theoph.

him. Adde the avoiding of obſequies for feare of pollution. Antiquity was of opinion that ſacred perſons were defiled with the ſight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath obſerved, and [c] *Euripides* brings in *Diana* ſpeaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay the ſtiding upon a grave was a great religion δεισιδαιμονίαν. Furthemore obſerving of daies good & bad, of which [d] *Heſiod*, ἄλλη μητρυιὰ ἄλλη δ' μήτηρ, that one is a ſtepdame, another a mother. [e] Amazement at the Eclipſe of the Sunne, as alſo the [f] Moone; not knowing the reaſon, why ſhe did looſe her light, at that time, when ſhe was in her full luſtre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted ſtones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Ariſtophanes*: ὠκυτόκια ὠησιάδων. Of the vertue I ſpeake nought. [g] *Boemus* relates that in *Darien* in *America* the Women eat an hearb when they are great with child which makes them to bring forth without paine. Joyne to this the ſneezing over the right ſhoulder, or the right ſide, [h] πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν. Obſervation of διοσημειάς, or ſudden ſtormes, as the [i] Sch. of *Ariſtophanes* interprets it, ſnow, haile, or the like. [k] Cutting off their haire, and ſacrificing it to Rivers, as *Cephiſſus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the proverb, [l] γλαῦξ ἐπτάτο, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἔπτα for good luck, The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. [m] ἡ πόλις τὰς γλαυκὰς νίκης σύμβολον τῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνομίζετο. They ever accounting it ſo ſince the warre at *Salamis*, where the *Greekes* ſeeing an Owle took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana*. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ ταύτης διηγθέσης θαρρήσαντες Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν. Other madneſſe of theirs was ſleeping in the [n] Temple of *Æſculapius*, who were ill at eaſe, ſuppoſing the deity to give, or ſhew them a remedy, [o] for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I miſtake not. What ſhal I ſay of [p] putting him to heath who ſhould cut down an Oake or an Holme (ſo *Ilex* which in Greeke is πρινίδιον may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heroum*; and puniſhing *Atarbes* capitally who being diſtra-

[c] In Hip. p. 903 vide etiã Euſtath. in Ιλ. π.
[d] ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἡμ.
[e] Plut. Pericle p. 123. l. 35.
[f] Plut. Nicia. p. 392. l. 31.
[g] Lib. 4. c. 11.
[h] Plut. Them. p. 85. l. 23.
[i] In Ach. p. 379 & p. 424
[k] Pauſ. Art. p. 35. l. 31. vide Euſt. in Il. B.
[l] Ariſtop. Veſpiſ. p. 508.
[m] Zenobius.
[n] Ariſtop. pp. 44. 66. T. 438
[o] Petronius.
[p] Ælian. ποικ. l. 5. c. 17.

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cted had ſlaine a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius?* Thus farre haue we gone Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage, vaunting how firſt he taught men * Ὀνειροκριτικὸν Οἰωνιστικὸν· Ἡπατικὸν· Θυτικὸν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may read in [a] *Xenophon.* Ὀνειροκριτικὸν, *the interpretation of dreames*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts which we conceaue of things offered to our fancie in ſleepe, as that of *Hecuba* dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; & that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her ſonne *Xerxes*, whom ſhee ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarians* and *Greeke* women, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients tearmed ἐνύπνιον ἰδεῖν, *Æſchylus*, aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Deitie--[b] Homer. The skill in them is ὀνειράτων ἃ χρὴ παρ' ἡμῶν, καλῶς τε δυσκρίτως (γενέζειν) to truly tell the event. Which was no ſmall art, certaine books written of that ſubject. [d] ἃ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν τινες τέχναι ὀνειροκριτικαὶ as *Artemidorus* his *Oneirocritica.* Οἰωνιστικὸν, *Soothſaying by birds* when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to ſhew what it doth prognoſticate. [e] *Æſchylus.* Ταμιεύεται τὴν πᾶσιν οἰωνῶν σκαιᾶς Διόθεν ὀρνιθοδίκου φύσιν, Εὐάντυμά τε, καὶ δίαιταν λιτύπα Ἔχοντ' ἀγαθοί, καὶ θεοῖς ἀλλήλους τίνες Ἔχθρας τ' ἐρίγηθεν καὶ συμβολάς. It was formerly ſtiled [f] οἰωνοσκοπία, ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας πτερουμένων ἀνθρωπίνῃ ὀΐσει σημείων) which the minde doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greeke writers, but moſt properly ὀρνιθοσκοπτικὸν which [g] *Telegonus* is related to haue found not according to *Nonnus*, but according to [h] *Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria.* Ἡπατικὸν looking into the Liver or entrails, like the Latines *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them, [f] λοβὸς τε ποικίλων δμωρφίαν as likewiſe the ſoundneſſe, hence taken as a prodigie λοβὸς οὐκ ἔχων κεφαλήν, in [k] *Plutarch*, the extremity of the liver (like the outmoſt parts of the vine leafe, ſaies *Iſidor*) not to be ſeene, or rather that which they call the head,

* Vide Sch. pag. 32.

[a] Ἀναβάσεως. initio.

[b] Iliad. 1.

[c] Æſchylus. p. 33.

[d] Euſt. in Il. 2. p. 36.

[e] Pag. 33.

[f] Ariſtides. T. 3. p. 25.

[g] Nonnus Σωσαγ. l. 5. a. 08.

[h] Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

[i] Æſch. lõco citato.

[k] Pag. 357. l. 37.

Ovid, cæſumq; caput, reperitur in extis. Θσπιον, in marking the flame of the ſacrifice burnt,[1] Φλογομαντεῖα, the Tragœdian calls thē, by which they could foretell events. More doubtleſſe had they wajes of witchcraft, as the other Greeks ἐνόδιον, as when one ſhall meet you carrying ſuch or ſuch things, then this ſhall befall you, *Æſchylus* tearmes them ἐνοδίους συμβόλους. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum*, on theſe words, *Puer è trivio.* The Scholiaſt of [a] *Ariſtophanes* on ξύμβολον ὄρνιν, they made, quoth he, whom they met firſt as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the ſalutation, which [b] *Sophocles* calls ἐυσήμου σήμα ὀρνιθος, wiſhing luck, as χαῖρε among the Greeks, & the Latines [c] *Eſto bonis auibus viſus* &c. Σύμβολον is put likewiſe for ſneeſing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but ſacred to [d] *Ceres*, as the Greekes, whence proceeded that Ζήνειος, which we imitate in our GOD HELP you, as often as we ſee any man ſo purging his head. Which not to haue proceeded frō any deadly diſeaſe, is ſufficiently evinced by *Caſaubon* on *Athenæus.* Οἰκοσκοπικὸν at the ſight of a Mouſe, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the houſe or when the oyle cruſe is dry, honey, wine, water is ſpent, to gueſſe at future things. Of this [e] *Xenocrates* wrote. Χειροσκοπικὸν, Palmiſtrie, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the table, they can judge of freeneſſe in houſekeeping, of mariage & poſterity, of which [f] *Helenus*, once left a monument. Πλημικὸν, gathered out of the ſhaking of the parts of the body as the ſhoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kinde *Poſidonius* was an author expoſed to the world Ἐγγαστριμυθία, as that wherein the *Witch of Endor* was experienced, out of the lower parts of whoſe belly the Divell ſpake. The firſt that practiſed this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are poſſeſſed with this ſpirit of prophecying are called Εὐρυκλεῖδαι, *Eurycliteæ*, as the [g] *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* who cals this art [h] Εὐρυκλέους μαντεία, *the divining of Eurycles.* Νεκυομαντεία, where after ſolemne ſacrifices they were wont to call upon the

[1] Æſch. loco citato.

[a] In Au. p. 574

[b] In Oed. Tyr. initio

[c] Ovid. Faſt.

[d] Sch. Ariſtop loco citato.

[e] Nonnus in Nazi

[f] Nonnus.

[g] In Veſp. pag 503.

[h] Ib p. 502.

the ſoules of the deceaſed, demanding of them what afterward ſhould befall. As [i] *Wierus*. And no wonder, for they held the ſpirits of their parents & kindred for Gods, *quibus ſacrificabant* (ſaies *Bodin*) *& ad quorum ſepulchra comedebant, in quos ſcriptura invehens ac deteſtans, inquit, & comederunt ſacrificia mortuorum*, to which they ſacrificed, and at whoſe ſepulchers they fed, againſt whom the Scripture inveighing & deteſting ſpeaketh, *And they ate the oblations of the dead*. Of this [l] *Ariſtophanes* makes mention, & [m] *Homer* in his *Odyſſes*. This is that which moſt properly is called γοητεία from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, [n] for with great mourning they invocated κακοποιὲς δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accompliſhment of their diveliſh deſignes. It may moſt fitly haue the name of *Nigra Magia*, [o] for ſo the Wizards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μαγεία, from [p] whence the word Magick is derived ſeemes to haue beene found by the [q] *Medes* & *Perſians*, whoſe Prieſts were called *Magi*, great Philoſophers as [r] *Laertius* is witneſſe. This is ſuppoſed to be the good Magick. [s] Ἀγωγὴ καὶ δάμασον ἀγαπητὸν ποιεῖν ἀγάπῃ τινὸς οὐσαν φαρμακεία, is a giuing of *philtium*, a medicine for the procurement of loue, or rather enraging of luſt, by bewitching ſomething and giving it to bee eaten; which to haue power over ſwine is credibly reported ἐκ [t] σταφυλοστασία, Tricks with a paire of ſheeres & ſine, of which *Theocritus*. [u] Ἀξινομαντεία, to take counſell of an hatchet, taking it and laying it on a peece of timber flatwaies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty uſe of a key and Bible. Ἀστραγαλομαντεία, by the caſting of the dice to aske the number of wiues, children, farmes, &c. which anſwer to the quãtity of the chance. [x] Ἀλφιτομαντεία & Ἀλευρομαντεία, done by corne. [y] Δειπνομαντεία, by taking the letters of the name, as when two were to fight, & by the value of them to iudge the conqueſt, as they ſaid of *Hector* being ouercome by *Achilles*. Ὀμφαλομαντεία, making a circle they diuided it into foure & twenty parts

[i] De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.
[k] Dæmonomaniæ l. 2. c. 3
[l] In Avib. p. 613 a.
[m] Lib. λ
[n] Nonn. in Naz.
[o] Vide Bodin.
[p] Vid. Nonn.
[q] In Proœm.
[r] Nonnus.
[s] Vide Odyſ.
[t] Vide Theocrit. in Phar.
[u] Delrio Diſqui. Mag. l. 4. c. 2, 3, 5. & c. 7.

and on each part made a letter, & putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he tooke up the graine, they at last joyned them together, & so knew their successours husbands, &c. Σπιχειρομαντία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speakes of the arrivall of *Achilles* within three dayes at *Thessaly*. [f] *Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* And because Poems were accounted prophecies, as Poets prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publique causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for fore-telling or divination. [a] I know the shee Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kinde of holy fury spake to those who asked counsaile. Whence the word [b] μαντικὴ at this time read for Soothsaying, was anciently called μανικὴ madnesse. And yet that their cunning men had a kinde of lottery, is as cleere as day, the [c] Scholiast of *Euripides* testifying; one it seemes in matters of question, so κλῆρος λάχος may intimate as much as to undergoe triall, Predictions there were, [d] saith *Eustath*, out of signes & wonders, as also of the noise that leaues make when they are burned. To which some adde ἀεσομαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

[f] Wier. de magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

[a] Vide Sch. Arist. in Plut.

[b] Aristid. T. 3. pag. 25.

[c] In Hippol. pag. 580.

[d] In Il. a p. 36

CAP. VII.

De Templis & Asylis.

THeir Churches were of two sorts; sacred to their Gods in Greek, ναὸς, or ἱερὸν. And sacred to their Demi-Gods most properly σηκοί. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragœdians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first

firſt originall of their Tẽples was the erecting of an edifice to the honour of the deceaſed. [c] γίνεται μὲν οὖν ἀφόμοιος ὁ ὁμαζομένοις τάφοις ἢ ἡρωμένοις τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸ πάσης ναοῦ ὑπαιθαλαμένης. *Cecrops* buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleuſis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the ſacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περίρραντήριον, the other ἔσω. [f] *Caſaubon* tels us that περίρραντήριον was that holy water ſet at the doore of the Temple, with which every one that entred into the Temple beſprinkled himſelfe, or was beſprinkled by thoſe that ſacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others haue written that it ſtood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawfull for any but the Prieſts to come. The [g] Schol. of *Sophocles* thus deſcribes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar ſtands Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, Τέμενος, where they placed the Idoll which they worſhipped: in anciẽt time a rude table or ſtock [a] ξόανις *Clemens Alexandrinus* cals it, as that of *Iuno Samia*, afterward made in the magiſtracie of *Procles* to be a ſtatue. At firſt named [b] ξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ ξύλου τμηθῆναι τὴν ὕλην, from the ſhaving of it: but when art began to be ſo expert as to make it reſemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βροτὸς *mortalis*, whoſe ſhape it bare. At the ſetting up thereof they uſed theſe ceremonies. That a womã neatly trimmed & deckt in a purple veſture, ſhould bring on her head a pot of ſodden pulſe, as beanes, peaſe, & the like, which they ſacrificed in thankfulneſſe for their firſt food, [c] ἀρχαιότατα ἀπονίμματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν πάντων. For as much as I cõceaue out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was cõſecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερῷ or ναῷ, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their geſture towards it. Αὐτὰ γὰρ διαστάντες, ἀχάλκευτα ξόανα ἐδῶν θεῶν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kinde of Veſtry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον by ſome tranſlated *ſummum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This ſeemes to haue beene a Treaſurie both for the Church, and

[c] Vide p. 22.

[f] Jn Theop. Charact.

[g] In Oed. Tyrannum.

[a] Protreptico p. 23.

[b] Idem.

[c] Schol. Ariſt. p. 115.

[d] Lib. 1. c. 1. pag. 7.

any ſoever, who fearing the ſecurity of his wealth would commit it to the cuſtody of the Prieſt, as [e] *Xenophon* is reported to haue done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Epheſus*. *Martial* points at this when he ſaies,

Templa vel arcano demens ſpoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they eſteem of theſe houſes of their Gods that to doe thoſe offices of nature, I mean venting of excrements too ſhameleſly ſeene among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination puniſhed ſeverely by *Piſiſtratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* ground had brought forth, they ſo hated him for that taxation, as they made the ἀφεδρῶνα of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redreſſed. And yet ſo ſecretly was it done, that hee could apprehend none ſaue at laſt one ſtranger, whom hee cauſed to be whipt, with this proclamation THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that ſoundly ſmarted for his wickedneſſe, they were wont proverbially to ſay, *He had better haue eaſed himſelfe in the Pytheum*, or if there were more, in the plurall number. Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ Πυθία ἀποπατῆσαι. Nay ſo honourably held they theſe Churches that to them they granted priviledge of *Sanctuary*, to which who ſhould fly, might not from thence be drawn out under a treſpaſſe upon religion. Of this kinde was the Temple of *Minerva*, and *Theſeus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides*, and *Mercy*, [a] whoſe image they would not haue erected any where in their City, although in the midſt thereof ſhe had a Groue. [b] The firſt *Aſylum* among the Heathens is held to haue beene in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclide*.

[e] Laertius in vita p. 122. vide ad eum locum Caſ.

[a] Vid. Roſin. & Polyd. Virg. in Eurip. *they are preſented ſetting neere the Altar.* T. 2. p. 473.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy orders among them I conceaue to haue beene diuers ſorts, παράσιτοι, *Paraſiti*, a word had in latter times in great diſrepũ, exagitated almoſt in euery Comœdy, put for a ſhark or ſmel-feaſt,[c] *Edax Paraſitus*-But held once in good eſteem. For when they had ſet aſide ſuch a parcell of land as they thought the reuenewes thereof would ſuffice for the ſacrifices of ſuch and ſuch Gods, they choſe certaine men who ſhould receaue or gather the harveſt. *Crates*, οἱ δὲ τὴν τιλὼ τῆ ἱερᾶ οὔτε ἐκλογὴν αἰρέυθαι. With the incomes of this were the charges of thoſe publike ſacrifices defraied. Hence σεσίδια μεγάλα *Introitus magni*, great yearely ſubſtance is uſed for great ſacrifice in[e] *Ariſtophanes*. Scholiaſt. ἔπεμψε ἄλλον τὰς σεσαγμένας τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίας κήρυκα. *Cerices*, the ſame ſignifies a cride, but in ſacred functions a Miniſter, who ſlew and offered the *victim*.[f] *Anthenio* the Comœdian aſcribes much honour to them, as if they had firſt taught men to ſeeth victuals, the fleſh of ſheep and oxen, while before they deuoured each other raw. They take their name from[g] *Ceryx* the ſon of *Mercury* & *Pandroſus*. But[h] *Caſaubon*, ἀπὸ τῆ κρείττονος. *A præſtatiore parte numeris quod obibant, ſic dicti. Idem namq; & hoſtias mactabant, adolebantq;*, &c. They in the time of diuine rites craued the ſilence of the people in theſe words, Εὐφημεῖτε σιγᾶτε λαοὶ ἴσω λεώς Be whiſt all yee people. Good words, for ſo[i] εὐφημία ſignifies, as well as to ſay nought, which *Hora* e fitly interprets when he ſaies, *Male ominatis Parcite verbis*. When ſacrifice was ended they diſmiſſed the congregation with theſe words λαῶν ἄφεσις. To which cuſtome he unfitly looked who deriued the Maſſe from *Miſſa eſt, ite*, better fetcht in my minde by[a] *Wechelius* from *Maſah* the Hebrew which availes as much as to praiſe. Μύσταγωγὸς, the

[c] Terent.

[d] Secun. Art. Dialect. apud Athen. p. 235.

[e] Avib. p. 581.

[f] Apud Ath. l. 14. p. 661.

[g] Vide Salm. in Inſcripti. Pollucem, l. 8.

[h] In Athen. l. 15. c. 23.

[i] Caſaub. in Theophraſt. p. 321.

[a] In lib. quem ſcripſit de Sacrament.

b Meurſius Eleuſin. in c. 13

the ſame with[b] Ἱεροφάντης, who initiated them who deſired to be admitted into the ſociety of the ſuperſtitiouſly zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a yeare compleat, permitted to ſee their Bable) c *Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάντης ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν *Hierophantæ* ſo called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερά, opening the holy things. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Ἱερομύσται.[d] The learned Biſhop, upon that place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moſes* among the *Iſraelites* was an *Hierophanta*, ſhewing unto them what they were to doe in thoſe ſacred bu ineſſes. Πυροφόροι, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whoſe office made them ſafe in war & danger. Hence of bloody fight we ſay ὑπὸ πυροφόρῳ, *Ne ignifer quidē*, there eſcaped not he that ſerved at the Altar. Ἱερομνήμονες, The Prieſts in the *Great Myſteries*, ten in number. Νεωκόροι whom e *Nicander* calls ζάκοροι from f κοσμεῖν τὸ κατακοσμίζειν, to be decent, becauſe they kept the Temples clean and ſwept them as *Ion* in g *Euripides* ſpeakes. Theſe were the παραφύλακες, whoſe charge it was to preſerue that which was found in the Church, and to ſee that repaired which went to ruine, ſaies h *Ariſtotle*. And yet wee read that the *Paraſiti* did ſometimes looke to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out ſhould bee reſtored againe. Ἱερεῖς in i *Ariſtophanes* likewiſe termed θεράποντες Theſe are the Prieſts ever waiting on the Gods, k whoſe prayers the ancient required at their ſacrifices; out of which they had a fee, l the trotters and skinnes, as the m *Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no neceſſity, for there being tables in their Temples, as *Caſaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations (& perhaps ſometimes depart) of which the Prieſt according to his ſtomack did ſhare. Well known to n *Ariſtop.* who relates the like of the Prieſt of *Æſculapius*. It was requiſite to this function that they who undertook it ſhould be ſound both wind and limb, they being asked οἱ ἀρτιεῖς before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which ceremonie to haue beene uſed among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their

c In Stel. 1. p 63.
d L. Mountac. of Chicheſter.
e In Alexaph. p. 144.
f Ariſtop. Sc. p. 125.
g T. 2. p. 621
h In Politic.
i In Plut. p. 71
k Caſaub. in Theoph.
l Ariſt. p. 481.
m Ariſt. p. 101
n In Plut. p. 71

neighbours

neighbours wives bearing record, saies [a] *Christianus*, that they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum*, There were moreover shee Priests as the Βασίλισσα, in *Demosthenes*, and the Καλπόδεσι whom in all things [b] *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* compared to the vestall Nunnes.

[a] In Aristoph.

[b] Antiq. l. 2. n. 3.

CAP. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE father of Philosophy is of opinion that Sacrifices first begã after the ancients had ended their harvest. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, frõ whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to doe any sacrince. Neither doth ἀλοητόσια import lesse, For [c] σὶν signifies the bend, or great chest of the garnet, wherein they laid up the harvest thresht and winnowed. ἄλοητ, the first or beginning, as if when they began to treasure up their store, they first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering; who willed in his lawes, that they should be [d] ἐκκριτα ἱερεῖα, chosen and selected sacrifices. The rites performed in them were not different from those in the daies of *Homer*, but somewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to purifie themselves some certain daies before, [e] σεσωφρονισθῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν, the number of them is not set downe. I take ἀγνεύσιν here to abstaine from carnall delights, *Tibull-Discedite ab aris Quos tulit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpose *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, frõ the company of a man to goe to sacrifice, answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered

[c] Vide Schol. Eur. in Phæn. p. 291.

[d] Plut. p. 65. l. 26. *they called their lean sacrifices* κλεκτα χρέα. *horned and haire, as if naught else,* Arist p. 584.

[e] Demosth. pp. 400. 476.

with flower & ſalt, in [f] *Ariſtophanes* ὀλαὶ, in [g] *Homer* ὀλοχύται) with which they cut the throat of the *victime*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. [h] *Ariſtophanes*. Περὶ δὲ βωμὸν ταχέως δὴ δεξιά, this luſtration was made with meal & holy water ſprinkled thereon. This water is called [i] χέρνιβ in which they quenched a firebrand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the ſtanders by, accounting it a kinde of cleanſing. (Hence [a] χέρνιβας νέμειν was forbidden him whō they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue.) Then they caſt ſome of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cried out [b] Τίς τῇδε; *Who is here*, to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ κἀγαθοί. Many and good. Then they praied. [c] *Homer*. Ξείνης ἔκτισαν ἱερὸν ἑλλήσποντον ἠδὲ βωμὸν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ ὀλοχύτας ἀΐξαντο, τοῖσιν δ' Χρύσης μεγάλ' ἴαχε χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the latter they ſpake with a loud voyce εὐχωλὴν before they began. *Let us pray*. Supplications ended they drew the victime ſo as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which [d] *Homer*, αὖ ἐρύσσαν. *Euſt.* ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄνω ἔθυον, ἀνακλᾶν τὴν ἱερεῖα τράχηλον, ὥστε ἀφορᾶν, ὡς εἰς τὰ ὑψηλόν. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downewards. Then they ſlew him & skin'd him, and cutting out the * huck ſhinbones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίση (hence the Gods of the heathen are deciphered by [e] *Nazienzen*. κνίσῃ χαίροντες, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burne all out in a great flame. [f] ἵνα καὶ παντὸς ὁλοκαυτωθῶσι τοῦ μηρὸς λαμπρῷ καταφλεχθέντος πυρί. For the Grecians accounted it unlucky if it did not ſo conſume, and thought that it was not κληδόνημα: upon the μηροὶ they caſt ſmall peeces of fleſh cut from every part of the beaſt, beginning with the ſhoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοβοεῖν. The reaſon *Euſtathius* gives, [g] ὡς δοκεῖν πάντα καίεσθαι, ὅλα ὄντα τὰ μέρη τῷ ἱερείῳ καρποῦσθαι, that they might ſeem to conſume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry ſome of the ſacrifice home. By reaſon

[a] In pace p. 695.
[g] Ιλ. α. *With theſe* ὀλοχύτας *the Greeks ever began ſacrifice, the Romans* Far Dicnyſ Halic. l. 2. n. 4.
[b] Loco laud.
[i] Athen. l. 9. p. 405.
[a] Sophocles Oed. Tyr.
[b] Ariſtoph. p.
[c] Ιλιαδ. α.
[d] Ιλιαδ. α.
* Μηρία.
[e] In Stel.
[f] Euſtath. p. 101. Ιλ.
[g] Loco laud.

reaſon of which injunctiõ, they did ſo ſtrain curteſy of their Gods, that the liberall or niggardly ſort of people would ſel that which was left, & ſo make gain of their devotion. [h] Τῶ ἱερείῳ πάλαι σὺν ἱπλέον τὰ χρέα ἀπεδίδοσαν ſaies *Theophraſtus*, [i] Where *Caſaubon* notes. *Coxam ferè offerebant, aut inteſtina, aut aliud non magnæ rei perſæpe.* They offered the hanch bone or the entrals, or ſomewhat of no great worth. Where by entrals you are to underſtand the ſpleene, the liver, and the heart, which *Homer* calls σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it ſignifies the heart too, in which ſenſe we ſay ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a puſillanimous man, & [a] εὔσπλαγχνος a couragious, as the [a] Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* teaches us, & τὸ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους the bowels of compaſſion. Theſe the ancients did divide among them at ſacrifice to feed on, & afterwards cut out the reſt to roſt. For whē they had finiſhed their devotions, they let the reyns looſe to all manner of voluptuouſneſſe, gluttony, and drunkenneſſe. For oft times they left nothing of their ſacrifice, eſpecially when they offered to *Veſta*, whence the proverb, Ἑστίᾳ δοῦναι, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari ſacrificare*. To ſay that publiquely they begun to *Veſta* were more then I could well prove; but that they did ſo is plaine. In their houſes they had Altars, and ſo I ſuppoſed once ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken, but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on [b] *Ariſtophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they ſhould be [c] ſound and without blemiſh, whether it were an oxe, ſheep, goat, ſwine, calfe: to ſacrifice they ſimply termed ἔρδειν which our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*. [d] Virgil, *cum faciam vitula*. Whoſe poverty was ſo great that he could not afford a ſheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleaſed if he offered *Molas*, which the Greeks call [e] μύλας meale, which by the richer was mingled with oyle and wine, as the [f] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtoph.* The more wealthy inſteed of this did caſt frankincenſe on the Altars. For the ſacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were ſet a part, as [g] *Demoſthenes*. In

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[b] Th. Charac. Περὶ Ἀπαλδ.

[i] Pag. 336.

[a] In Ajacem. Loranum.

[b] Vide p. 582

[c] Vide Pollucem l. 1.

[d] In Bucolicis

[e] Caſaub. in Theop. p. 237.

[f] Pag. 701. D

[g] Pag. 378.

their oblations the μάγειροι or chokes gave the [h] 10. part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀκροθίνιον κοιλίας, put for ἀπὸ where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Ariſtoph.* on ἀκροθίνιον τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖς ἔχοντα κοιλίας. Ἔδος γὰρ ἔχον τὸν δεκάτας τῶν δυνάμεων τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι διδόναι. Νῦν, γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀκροθίνιον ἔχοντα ὠμὰ, &c.

[b] Schol. Ariſt. p.304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THE ancient Greek year conſiſted of three hundred & ſixty daies, each month conſiſting of thirty. Rude antiquity ignorant of celeſtiall contemplations, deeming the Moon to finiſh her courſe in that ſpace. Which according to [a] *Petavius* ſeems falſe. *Lunaris enim non fuit, ſed ejus menſes tricenis diebus conſtabant ſinguli.* By which reckoning, had they not uſed intercalations, they had ſoon found a maine difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their feſtivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*, in which when they found ſeaven daies deficient, they ſupplied them by adding * 2 to every end of the yeare, called ἄρχοι ἡμέραι, [b] *eò quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magiſtratibus carebant*; Becauſe for thoſe two daies *Athens* was without Magiſtrates. But the laſt of theſe foure had but 359 daies, beſides the two ὑπερβάλλουσαι, in reſpect to the Olympick games, ever kept in the *Olympick* games, ever kept in the * full moone, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moone. Nevertheleſſe the Sunne and Moone appearing 14 daies oddes in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eight year an interjection of one Moneth, that this time being ended, the courſe might ſtill returne the ſame. This all *Greece* obſerved, ſaies *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed μυσήρια, by the People of *Etis* an *Olypiad*. What kind of Lunary yeare was in uſe among the Grandſires of *Greece*, is not

[a] De Doct. Temp. l. 1. c. 1

* Negat. Petius miſcel. l 8. p. 192. Petav. affirmat.

[b] M. *Selden* in Apparat. ad Græco Epoch Chro.

* id eſt, *The fifteenth day.*

[c] De D Tem. T. 1. p. 4.

not truly known; by [d] *Petitus* delivered to be of D.347. every Month 29 D. except one, which like our February had but 28 D. Every two years one Month was inserted, once of 29 D. another time of 28 D. but becauſe in two years this * *magnus annus* ſurpaſſed the Moone 15. D. *itaq; Tetraeterida fecerunt.* This conſiſted of 1445 D. 723 & 722 make 1445. So many daies 154 foure times doubled hath, if you pleaſe to add oyne 29. Of this ſort of calculation doth he underſtand [f] *Geminus.* Τὸς μῆνας τετρακοσημέρους ἄγων, τὸν δ' ἐμβολιμαῖον παρ' ἑκατόν. *That muſt be fitly underſtood,* quoth he, *for they did number the Months as if they were* 30 D. *when notwithſtanding they had but* 29. [g] *Petavius* is otherwiſe conceited, who takes the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* in that ſenſe, as meaning 29 D. full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to [h] *Geminus* you may account 29. ½. ⅓. and [i] *Ulpian,* εἰκοσιεννέα ἢ ἥμισυ 29. And yet are we not deſtitute of authority, that a Month was ſupputed 29 D. [k] *Theon* Μίαν δ' λέγουσιν, ἣν ἀπὸ σωδέκα Σχοίνων ἢ Ηλίου χρόνον ἔστι σωδεκάτη, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡμερῶν κθ. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plaine, Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τετάρτης σωδεκάτης ἡμέρας ἀκάθη, ἐν ᾗ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χρόνον. τότε δὲ τὸν μῆνα ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγωγὴν καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *He means a day the ſpace of a night and a day, for according to ſuch Months did they adminiſter their civill affaires. And now it is in requeſt among many of the Greekes.* But of this enough. Soone was the *Tetracteris* found faulty; therefore was made a Kalander of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sunne, to wit, 11 D. ¼. made up three Months, inſerted every third, fift, and eight yeare. But the ſcruples comming ſhort in ſixteen years 3. D. they intercalated three. And ſeeing ſtill they could not make it even. [a] *Euctemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack for nineteen years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Moneth 940. of the m 28. ἐμβόλιμοι, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῶν ἐμβολίμων ἐμοίρασαν ἐχήσαστο, ſaies *Geminus.* This was the progreſſe of their reformation.

[d] Eclog Chr. p.225. Petav. *goes not ſo home* Lib. de doct Temp. 1 c 6.

* *each of theſe two years ſeverally taken was called* vertens, *ioyned* annus magnus.

[e] Loco Laud,
[f] Elem. Aſtro. c.8.p.36.
[g] In Auctario
[h] Loco citato
[i] In Arg. Orat. contra And. p.380.
[k] In Arati Diosem. p.74.

[a] Geminus p. 38 *Whom I follow, not ignorant that* Meton *was the firſt that made the cicle of* 19. *years. Hence* Μίτωνος ἐνιαυτὸς. Metons *yeare is put for a long time proverbially.*

But we muſt look back again and conſider that they counted their year two waies. Firſt of [b] CCCLX, as hath been already ſpoken, next CCCLIIII, when they made the Moneths interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοίλους *full and deficient*, that is, one 29. the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their daies. The firſt, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalepha* or contraction of the words νεμηνία. The ſecond δευτέρα. The eight διχόμηνις, or halfe full: the full πανσέληνος. The laſt τελευταία, [c] ἀπ' αὐτῆ τῆ συμβαίνοντος, becauſe that in the daies of *Thales Mileſius*, [d] who was the author of that terme, the Month had 30 and no more, but ended, whence I ſuppoſe [e] αἱ ἐν ἅδου τελευταῖαι, ſignify the dead, the period of whoſe life hath been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reaſons. And by the way we muſt not think, that they had no regard to the courſe of the Sunne; [f] *Sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris, &c.* But nevertheleſſe that the yeare might be correſpondent to the Sun, they put five daies, called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the laſt Month *Scirrophorion*, for the ſupplying of the defect. And ſo the yeare had 365 D. which was the true and juſt meaſure. But he might have added, ſometimes 366, by reaſon of that ¼ which *Geminus* acknowledges the Greeks to have reckoned, although they accounted their months but 30 D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which [a] *Aratus* ſtiles μίγαν ἐνιαυτόν. To this point the Greeke Authors, telling the years by ſeed time. [b] *Sophocles* -- Ἐιλομένων Αὐτῶν ἕτος εἰς ἕτος. For the ancients, ſaies [c] *Theon*, took the year three waies, either by the Sunne; or ſeaſons; as ſpring, ſummer, autumne, winter, [d] (*Sophocles*. Ἐξ ἧρος εἰς Ἀρκτοῦρον ἰμμιλὲς χεῖμα χειμῶνι δ' ὕδη --) or thirdly by the Moone: whoſe irregularity *Solon* is reported by [e] *Plutarch* firſt to have marked. Obſerving therefore that ſhee on the ſame day overtook and ſurpaſſed the Sun, [f] ὃ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καταλαμβάνουσαν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, he cauſed that to be called [g] νέα καὶ παλαιά *the Old and New*, becauſe that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

b *Then were all the months of 30 D. as you may ſee in Schol. Ariſtoph. Achar. p. 412. c.*

c *Gem. p. 32.*
d *Laertius in vita.*
e *Pollux l. 1.*

f *Petit. Eccl. Chro. p. 215.*

a *In Aratum. p. 78.*
b *In Antigon. p. 213.*
c *In Aratum p. 78.*
d *In Oedipo Tyran. p. 183*
e *In vita pag. 66. l. 15.*
f *Plutarch.*
g *Laert. in vit.*

the precedent Month; and that remnant which was after the conjunction, appertaining to the subsequent. (These peeces [h] *Aratus* calls σωιδήτων Μλωῦν πείρατα) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his [i] *Odysses* termes the thirtieth day, as *Didymus* expounds it Τῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μλωὸς, τῦ δ' ἰσαμένοιο Where we may note that then they had no μεσόντος, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinal numbers*, used by [k] *Demosthenes* in one Oration, ἐν δεκάτῃ and δωδεκάτῃ ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ. Then putting the lesser to the greater they said τρίτῃ ὀπὶ εἴκαδι, πεμπτῃ ὀπὶ εἴκαδι, *the third above ten, the fourth upon tenne*, and so to twenty, * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, & the light almost lost, they changed the order and used δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, ἐνάτῃ, &c. *the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease*, and so to the twenty nine, δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος, *the second of the decrease, or from the end*, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the thirtieth they call'd νουμηνία for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason why the Month ending was φθίνων. [l] Ἐκφθίνει φθίσιν ἅσπερ ἀνθρώποις δεκάτῃ τελοῦσα. Because the daies and Moones doe as it were die, according to that of *Horace*. *Novaq; pergunt interire Lunæ.* [m] *Macrobius, quid aliud nisi illum φθίνοντα dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis imputatio in nomen desinit secuturi: & ἰσάμενον illum, qui præcedit numerum successurus priori in defectum meanti.* Ἰσάμενον standing to supply the place of the departing Month; fixed and still waiting until the Moon shall have journied to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil*, [n] *Stat sua cuiq; dies*, as unto which we must passe through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moone. Hence read we μιλᾶσι καὶ πόλιν ἄγειν, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick businesses, or belonging to goverment. In which course they made their yeare of CCCLIIII daies, which divided into ten parts make ten times

[h] In Diosem. p. 125.
[i] Odyss. ξ. pag. 164.
[k] Contra Timocratem. p. 446 n 39.
* Vide Plutarch. loco nuper laudat.
[l] Ulpian in Dem. p. 210.
[m] Macrobius Sat. l. 1. c. 16.
[n] Æneid. 10. p. 330.

times 35, which ſpace each [a] πρυτανία ruled in its turne, the foure that abounded were called ἀρχαιρεσίαι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The year thus diſpoſed, th Months muſt of neceſſity be πλῆρεις καὶ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as [b] *Geminus*. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁλοχρήστερον λαμβανόμενοι μηνιαῖοι χρόνοι εἰσὶν ἡμερῶν κθ β, ὥστε τὸ ἥμισυ γίγνεσθαι ἡμέρων ϑ, ὅθεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ κατὰ πόλιν μῆνες ἐναλλὰξ ἄρτιοι πλῆρεις καὶ κοῖλοι διὰ τὸ τὸ σελήνιον ἥμισυ ἡμερῶν ἔχειν ϑ. If a Month have 29 D. 1/2, two have 59. Becauſe therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it that now it ſhould be 29 D. then 30 D. The *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the Sun on this day, untill the going down of the next. In reſpect to which [d] *Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noon-ſleep, --ἀμφιβαίνειν δ' ἐπὶ νύκτα. *To take reſt at the beginning of the even.* I know that the ancients wrought but ſix houres in the day. [e] *Martial*, *ſexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit.* Which [f] *Euſtath* affirmes in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Z. H. Θ I. were the notes of the 7.8.9.10. houres, which joyned make ζῶσι, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the Laborers *Reſt*. The begining of the yeare was [g] *Hecatombæon*, *July*, the eight, ſaies [h] *Petitus*. They ever accounting that to be the firſt Month. In which order I have found them ſet downe in a [i] Manuſcript in our publique Library, only *Mamacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion*.

[a] Argum. Or. Dem. contra Androt pag. 330.

[b] Elemen. Aſtronom. p. 31

[c] Macrob. l. 1. Sat. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 2 c. 77.

[d] In Theriac.

[e] Lib. 4. Ep. 8.

[f] In Ia. ad ἀμαθὺν χῆνα τὸ σπόριμον.

[g] Caſaub. in Athen. p. 931.

[h] Chronol. Eclog.

[i] In 4° num. 24. p. 264.

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Ægypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ianuarius.	Δαίσιος.	Σάβαρ.	Τυβὶ.	Αὐλαῖος.	Ἑκατομβαιών.
Februarius.	Ὑπερβερεταῖος.	Ἀβὰρ.	Μαχαὶρ.	Περίτιος.	Μεταγειτνιών.
Martius.	Ξανθικός.	Μισὴρ.	Φαμενὼθ.	Δῦστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Aprilis.	Κελαιός.	Ἰάβ.	Φαρμοῦθι.	Ξανθικὸς.	Πυανεψιών.
Maius.	Ταῦρος.	Ψιδουὰρ.	Παῦνι.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Iunius.	Δίσυμος.	Θαμμὶ.	Παυνὶ.	Δαῖσιος.	Ποσιδεών.
Iulius.	Καρκῖνος.	Ἀβ.	Ἐπὴφ.	Πάνημος.	Γαμηλιών.
Auguſtus.	Λέων.	Ἐλὰλ.	Μεσορὴ.	Λῶος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.

Στα-

Σεπτέμβριος.	Παγήτης.	Θεσεί.	Θυσία.	Τεγεατῶς	Γλαυκιλιών.
Ὀκτόβριος.	Ζυγός.	Μυρσινί.	Φανοψί.	Τοξοβελεῶνος.	Μουνιχιών.
Νοέμβριος.	Σκορπίος.	Χαλιβ.	Δυεί.	Δίος.	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκέμβριος.	Τοξότης.	Τεθεύ.	Χοιάκ.	Ἀπολλαί.	Σκιροφοριών.

In which table although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Month *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever ſo removed out of his place, as [a] *Petitus* will have it, *Epiphanius* contradicting of which by & by. Indeed when the Chriſtians in honour of their Eaſter began the yeare in April, they called April *Hecatombæon*, as [b] he himſelfe teſtifies. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwaies the firſt Month is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's ſucceſſors changed the head of the yeare from *Iuly* to the ſeaventh of *October* it is like that they began at *Mæmacterion* according to this [c] rule.

[a] Eclog. Chr. p. 214.

[b] Loco laud.

[c] Ex *MS* Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ in 8°. n. 8

Μαιμακτηριών.
Ποσειδεών.
Γαμηλιών.
Ἀνθεστηριών.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Μουνιχιών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκιροφοριών.
Ἑκατομβαιών.
Μεταγειτνιών.
Βοηδρομιών.
Πυανεψιών.

[d] Certain it is that the ſame *Attick* Months are ſometimes Lunary, and ſometimes not, but of 30 D. or *Iulian*; When they are Lunary they have no ſure ſeat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reaſon why the ſame Months have not been ſuted to the *Iulian*, by writers.

[d] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. p. 138.

Ulpian on *Demosthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to [e] *January*, and in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, to *March*, and againe to [f] *April*. [g] *March* he calls *Boedromion*, which also he interprets [h] *June*. *Elaphebolion* [i] *November*, [k] *September* (in the margin *February*) and [l] *December*. [m] *Thargelion*, *April*. *Munychion* *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errors are cursorily noted by [n] *Petit* in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of *Augustus Cæsar* they were charged to conforme their year to the *Julian*, they [o] thus numbred.

e Pag. 21.
f Pag. 163.
g In Olynth. 3
h Pag 148.
i Pag. 140.
k Pag. 167.
l Pag. 120.
m Pag. 167.
n Eclog Chr. l. 1. c. 6. p. 213
o Vide Petav. in Epiphan. pag. 139.

Menses Attici.	*Menses Juliani.*
Ἐλαφηβολιών.	*March.*
Μυνιχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιροφοριών.	*June.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*August.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Ποσιδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ἀνθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, so much only. We must handle their Lunary year because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as [a] πέντε γὰρ ἔσαν ἐπ᾽ Διονύσῳ. So much and as long since the *Bacchanals*; speaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies view this Almanack.

a Aristoph. p. 306. c.

Hecatombæon. July.

1 Πρώτη ἱσταμένου. Πρυτανεία πρώτη.
2 Δευτ.
3 Τριτ.
4 Τετρ.
5 Πέμπτ.

5 Ἕκτη.
6 Ἑβδόμη. * Κ' δὲ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ εἰς Δῆλον Kept in memory of
7 * Ὀγδόη. the returne of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had
8 Ἐνάτη. slaine the *Minotaure*. b *Plutarch*. The solemni-
9 Δεκάτη. ty c *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthidis*
fertur celebratior illo Illuxisse dies, &c. the eight
day of every Month was sacred to him. He had
also a festivall called *Theseia*, in honor of gathe-
ring together the disperſed people of *Attica*.
10 Πρώτη μεσείτος.
11 Δευτέρα Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
12 Τρίτη. Κρονία. Of theſe, as also of the day, speakes
13 Τετάρτη. d *Demosthenes*. Then did the Masters wait on
14 Πέμπτη. their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals.
15 * Ἕκτη. *L. Accius*. *Maxima pars Graium Saturno, &*
16 Ἑβδόμη. *maxime Athenæ Conficium ſacra, quæ Cronia eſſe*
17 Ὀγδόη. *iterantur ab illis, Cumq; diem celebrant, per agros,*
18 Ἐνάτη. *urbesq; fere omnes Exercent epulis læti, famuloſq;*
19 Εἰκάς. *procurant Quiſq; ſuos.*
20 Δεκάτη Φθίοντος. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β. Hence was
21 Ἐνάτη. This Moneth called by the ancient *Atheni-*
22 Ὀγδόη. *ans*, Κρόνιος afterward *Hecatombæon*, from
23 Ἑκατομβαιών. ἑκατόμβαια, sacrifices to *Iupiter* or *Apollo*, as
24 Ἕκτη. some think with the bloud of an hundred
25 Πέμπτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their ſa-
26 Τετάρτη. crifices. f *Ovid*. *Taurorum ſanguine centum*.
27 * Τρίτη Παναθήναια. g The Scholiaſt of *Homer*
28 Δευτέρα. ſaies that *Hecatombe* may be used for five and
29 Ἕνη καὶ νέα. twenty beasts, whose feet make up the num-
ber of an hundred, ὅτι πᾶν ἑκατόμβοιον, ὃ ἔχει ἐξ ἑκατὸν πόδα ζώων.

b In vita p. 12.
c Metamorp. l. 7. Fab. 23. vide illum diligenter. Nam erit operæ pretium.
d Pag. 446. contra Timocratem.
e In Annalib. vide *Macrob. Saturn.* l. 1. c. 7. *versus finem*.
* *Then were kept the Meloinia in memoriall of their transmigration.* Plut. p. 8. l. 9. *By some it is termed* Ξυνοίκια Ariſtoph. pag. 700 Plut. initio Them. l. 12.
f *Metamorp.*
g In Il. α. pag. 6.

* To *Minerva* the protectresse of their City, as hath been before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as h *Plutarch*. ἡ παναθήναια l. 8.

h In vita p. 8.

Συσίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κοινοῖς. At first they had the name Ἀθήναια; by *Erichthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shewes exhibited to the people, such as horse races wrestling, dancing in armour, called Πυρρίχη, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in Procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in [i] *Meursius* at large, and [k] *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

[i] In Panathenæis.

[k] Pag. 140, 197, 180, 181, 467, 580, 650, 746.

The second of this month is called πεῖν, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion. August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo*, called Μεταγείτνια.

1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
5
6
7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρα.
8
9
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15
16
17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
18
19
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21

22

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ.

* *Boedromion* September.

Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall neare *Platæa*, a City of *Bœotia*, [a] *Herodotus*, [b] *Iustin*.

Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick* forces got the upper hand of the *Persians*. In which battle when *Cynægirus* pursued the flying enimies to their ships, he caught hold of one with his right hand, which lost, he made use of his left; that cut off, he in token of his proweſſe ſpared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour againſt his enimies.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

*Χαριστήρια Ἐλευθερίας.

*Ἀγυρμὸς Μυστήρια.

* In thankfulneſſe for the delivery of *Greece*, at what time *Darius* and his Fleet went homeward. [b] *Aristides* deſcribes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Iupiter* that freed them.

* The greater in which they were made [c] ἐπόπται, or admitted to the ſight of that they worſhipped. The firſt day was called ἀγυρμὸς perhaps from the conflux of the people

* *From this month came the feaſts* Boedromia, *from Theſeus overthrowing the* Amazons. Plut. p. 9. *or* Ion *helping the* Athenians *againſt* Eumolpus, Βοηδρόμια *becauſe in neceſſity they made a cry* Anſtophan.: Βοηθεῖτε ἄνδρες. Lucian. ἐπικλῆσις. Latini *Quiritari, hence help came in.*

a Calliop. p. 234 b hh. 3.

b Tom. 1. pag. 257 ſee plut. in Ariſtid. p. 241.

c Sch. Ariſtop. pag. 247.

22 * Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. people. The second ἄλαδε μύσι, becauſe the Crier then
23 warned them to goe to the ſea. The third day they ſa-
24 crificed a Barble, becauſe it devoures the ſea hare, an e-
25 nimy to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-
26 preſenting *Proſerpine* gathering flowres, which wo-
27 men following cried χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Haile *Ceres*. The
28 fifth they ranne with torches. Hence λαμπαδηφορία, and
29 λαμπάδων ἀμίλλα. The ſixt *Bacchus* was carried in pomp. Hence it is termed Ἰακχος. The ſeaventh day they exerciſed in feats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given him. The eight was *Epidauria* from *Æſculapius* his coming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two meaſures of corne, and ſetting one at Eaſt and the other at Weſt, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὗε, the other to the ground, ſaying, κύει. Thus *Meurſius*. That day was πανσπερμία.

Here I look on Meurſius for brevities ſake but if you pleaſe to read ſeverally, ſee Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 85, 98, 131 138, 455. 529, 647, 142 218, 227, 228 231, 233, 237 262, 264, 516 Ariſtid. T. 1. p. 323. Clem. Alex in Protrep. p. 10.

The ſecond of this Month was left out ever, ſaies [a] *Plutarch*, inſteed of which ſome are perſwaded, the name only was omitted, as πέμπτη for τετρὰς, which was recompenced by ἐνδεκάτη δεύτερος, or ἐικοστὴ, as in a defective Month ἐνδεκάτη δεύτερος, for the twenty. Of this judgement is the [b] worthy *Petavius*.

[a] Sympoſ. Q. 1. 9. q. 6. & in l. περὶ φιλοδοξ. p. 331.

[b] Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 5. p. 11. D.

* Mæmacterion is to be inſerted here.

* *Pyanepſion.* October.

This Month took denomination from the feaſts *Pyanepſia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their ariving, they put it into one pot, and ſeething it, were joviall altogether at the ſame.

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
3
4
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6

Πυανέψια. After that *Theſeus* had buried his father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if he returned ſafe from the death of the *Minotaure*, hee would ſacrifice unto him a pot of ſodden beanes. Hence πυανέψια, as it were, πυαμέψια. For the antiques called beanes πύαμους.

Διὸς εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Θεσμοφόρια. [c] *Plautus* calls this feſtivall *vigilias Cereris*. which the *Attick* Dames kept moſt ſober and chaſt, ſtrowing their beds with *conyza* for that purpoſe, it being an enimy to luſt. They prepared themſelves with faſting, but after that took their liquor freely. The number of daies were three allotted, as ſome, or foure, as others. When *Caſtellanus* ſaies that *Ovid* makes them nine, is falſe; for that was the *Myſteria*, as we above have ſhewne. They were done in honour to *Ceres*, that gave lawes firſt, as ſhee is termed Νομόθετις Θεσμοφόρος. Of theſe you may read [d] *Ariſtophanes* and his Scholiaſt:

[c] In Aulularia

[d] Pag. 611. 770 782. 783. 819. 820. 819.

Πρύτανεῖα. δ.

* Ἀπατούρια. Kept this Moneth. When the Parents brought their children to their Tribes, to be enrolled, I ſuppoſe for feare of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for foure daies. The firſt was Δορπία. The ſecond Ἀναρρύσις. The third Κυρεῶτις. The fourth, Ἐπίβδα.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

Καλλιστεῖα. In honour to *Minerva*. [f] *Meurſius* teaches us that they were celebrated the 17 of this month, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them.

[f] Græcia Feſtiva. l. 2.

Mamacterion

Memacterion. November.

This month is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as M. *Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept of as most approved.

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6
7 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ς.
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12
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14
15
16
17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, saies that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greekes* send yearely some to sacrifice to the memory of those that died at *Platæa*, and every five year they have great pastimes, which [a] he sets downe the manner of.
18
19
20
21
22
23 Πρυτανεία. δ. This month is derived from *Iupiter Memactes*: for I suppose they first found Gods, afterward festivals to them. Not the months first, and then named the Gods for them.
24
25
26

[a] Pag. 141.

27
28
29

Poſideon. December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Poſidon*. For the firſt day of this month was ſacred to him, as [b] *Caſaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσιδεῶν ἡμέρα. [b] In Theoph. Char. ult.

1
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

5 Λήναια. *Dionyſia τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς.* Without the citty, It ſeems when they had gathered in vintage
6 and preſſed their grapes. *Ληΐνη Torcular.* Then were they
7 moſt jocund, as may appeare out of that. *Like the voice of*
8 *them that tread the Wine-preſſe*, and in [c] *Oppian.* ληναίτης [c] Κυνηγ. α.
9 χαίρων. On which words [d] *Conradus Rittershuſius* takes v. 127.
10 Ληναιῶνα to be *January*. [d] Pagina 18.
11
12
13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
14
15
16 Ἀλῶα. A feaſt to *Ceres*. The day doubtfull [e] *Demoſten.* [e] Pag. 743.
17
18
19
20
21
22
23 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
24

25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
27
28
29 Πρυτανεία. ς.
30

Gamelion. January.

1 From the marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-
2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*
3 on *Lycophron*. That month wherein this people coup-
4 led, hence is called *Gamelion*, from γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is sa-
5 cred to *Iuno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *con-*
6 *jugalis*, Prefident of weddings and the Marriage bed.
7
8
9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
19
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21
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23
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27
28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
29

Anthesterion. February.

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
3
4
5 Πρυτανεία. ζ.
6
7
8
9
10
11 Ἀνθεστήρια. Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first Πιθοίγια from πίθος the tubs, and ἴγγω, to open, for at the broaching of their vessells they drunk stiffely. The second Χοαί from *Chus*, a good capacious vessell. In this he that could drink down the rest of his companions had a golden crowne. The third χύτροι, I suppose different from χύδροι. From this Festivall the month is named. The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Limnis* were kept, called μεγάλα & ἀγραύλιοι. The 13th were acted Comœdies, begun the 3d yeare of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as [a] *Donat* and [b] *Vipian* witnesse, and [c] *Aristophanes*, ὅτι πλεῖστος ὁ σωτρέχλ ἐπιδυμεῖν τὰ καινὰ δρώματα βλέπειν, saies one.

Of this you may see Aristoph. p. 293. 417. 419. 422, 222.

This day was called χύτροι *likewise, but not in the sense spoken.*

[a] In Terent. p. 289.
[b] In Demost. p. 134.
[c] Pag. 143.

12 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
13
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18
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22
23
24 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
25
26
27
28

29
30

Elaphebolion. March.

1
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
5
6
7 Θυσία Ασκληπίαιν. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
8
9
10 Πρυτανεία. ε.
11
12
13
14
15
16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ.
17
18
19
20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

[c] Contra Ctesiphont.

Of these [c] *Æschines* makes mention, and you will have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.

Muny-

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Μυνύχια. Πρυτανεία ὀγδόη. *Munychia* were observed to *Diana*, who was so called, and had a Temple in *Munychia*, by *Athens*. The Month beares the name. In this month were the causes of strangers judged. [a] *Arist. Sc.*

Διάσια. To *Jupiter Meilichius*. The greatest day that the *Attick* route was kept in. See of this [b] *Aristophanes* and [c] *Eustathius*.

[a] Avib. p. 609.
[b] Pag. 150. 174
[c] Ilmen. & Ilm. l. 1.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

1
2
3
4
5 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
6 Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their na-
7 tivity. On this day did they expiate for the ſinnes of the
8 people. For they were wont to nouriſh ſome baſe men,
9 and of no account, at the publique charge whom in time
10 of peſtilence, or the like, they ſacrificed for the ſinnes of
11 the citty, Two in number ſaies the [a] *Scholiaſt* of *Ari-*
12 *ſtophanes*, whence they were called Φαρμοὶ: but more
13 properly καθάρματα & φαρμακοί, [b] *Ariſtophanes*.
14
15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
16
17
18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
19
20 Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Βενδὶς.
21 Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meurſius*.
22 Καλλυντήρια Πρυτανεία. ι.
23
24 Πλυντήρια. *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, o-
25 thers will have it the 25. To *Mine-*
26 *va*, on which they take off the ornaments of her Statue,
27 and waſh it I ſuppoſe, [c] *Plutarch*, [d] *Xenophon*.
28
29

[a] In Equites pag 353.
[b] In Ranis.
[c] Pag. 152.
[d] Ἑλλην. α. p. 257.

Σκίρα. To *Minerva* from σκίον, a Canopie, under which her Priests did walk in pomp at that time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*. [c] *Schol. Aristoph.* [c] Pag. 497. 725.

Βυφόνια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had slaine that beast eating the meale provided for the sacrifice, hee slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the plough. To which [d] *Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos* [d] Satyr. 10. v. 268.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. χ. *Qui domini cultris tenue & miserabile collum Præbet, ab invito jam fastiditus aratro.*

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Πρυτανεία. ἡ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c. Where *Petitus* makes the foure first Tribes to governe each his day, on those foure that abounded above the yeare, * *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Mauſſecus* approves

* Athen. Rep. l. 2 c. 3.
* In Notis ad Harpocra.

proves it. Neither is it misliked by * *Petavius*, * *Scaliger* hath falsely taught us otherwise, who makes each *Pentaneia* to rule 36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the first foure.

* D. Doct. Temp. l. 2 c. 1
* D emend. Tem. lib. 1.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdiâ, Satyricâ, & Comœdiâ.

IT is taken for grant among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who lived [a] 907 years before Christ, was the first that taught [b] τραγικῶς λέγειν, to speak in Tragœdie; comprehending great and weighty matters in few words and very concisely, being more large & using circumlocution in matters of lesse consequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundatiõ being laid, following ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfection. *Nam post illius tale tantum, documentum*, &c. saies [c] *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had represented a Tragœdy, by the *Odysses* a Comœdy, most ingenuous imitators took those Poems and set them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconsideratly, & without judgment written, impolisht, and in the first rudiments not so neat & trim, as in processe of time they were made For Poesy was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the first publishing of plaies. For we see little or nothing of [d] *Susarion*, the first Comœdian, worth our time: some few verses only, & so few as may but witnesse such an Author. The originall of the word Comœdie is supposed to be taken from divers reasons: First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they sung them, and so it may be derived from κῶμος, commessatio; [e] κωμάζειν, signifying μετὰ ἡδυπαθείας εἰκῆ ᾄδειν, to sing basely at the cup. Secondly from κῶμα, sleep; because when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the custome (as before hath bin spoken) for the party abused, to come in the

[a] Vid. Can. Chro. ad Gr. Epoch. Mar: Arund. p. 97.
[b] Hermog. de Eloq. Meth. p. 561. c. 33. Eustath. in Præf. ad Iliad.
[c] Tract. de Trag. & Comœd. præfat. Terentio.
[d] Marmo. Arundel. & ad ea Seld. CL Præfixa eiũ Aristophan. περὶ κωμῳδ.
[e] Sch. in Nazianzel. C. p. 106

the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voyce cry, ſuch and ſuch re'oyce in wrong, and commit ſuch outrages, though there be Gods & Lawes. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen & much ſhamed; by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κώμη, a ſtreet, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merrily in the ſtreets & high waies, they laid open every mans life and concealed not his name, [f] *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis læti, alacresq; veniebant: ibiq; cum nominibus singulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were firſt ſung [g] in the green Meddowes, [h] about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the feſtivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the vine, the skin of which they took & ſowed up cloſe, filled with Wine, & annointed it with oyle to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they call ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a skin and ἅλλεσθαι, to leap, [i] *Ariſtophanes.* Ἀσκωλιαζ ἐπαΐδω σοῖς τῶν αἰθελων. [k] *Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur, & veteres ineunt proscennia laudi:
Præmiaq; [l] ingentes Pagos & compita circum
Theſeidæ poſuere: atq; inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis unctos ſaliere per utres.

After *Suſarion*, ſprang up *Theſpis*, the firſt that made Tragœdies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lachrymoſa poemata*, ſad poems; becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries, the misfortunes of Kings & great men eſpecially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as [m] *Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave occaſion to [n] *Socrates*, when he ſaw the moſt worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to ſay to *Antiſthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we marke

f Donatus de Tra. & Com.
g Idem ibid.
h In Synopſi vitæ Ariſtop. Th. Magiſter.
i Plut. p. 108.
k Geor. 2. p. 71.
l Iſa. Tzetzes in Proleg. ad Poetas, interpret κώμας, μέγιστα χωρία
m In Epictet p. 95.
n Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11.

that ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes*, and *Agamemnon* are ſlaine; but what Poet was yet ſo impudent as to bring a baſe fellow on the ſtage ſacrificed? Not ſupernumerary is that of *Euripides*. for *K. Archelaus*, deſiring that he would write a Tragœdy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdy might happen to him; meaning ſorrow & lamentation. For ſo is Τραγῳδία uſed, as o Κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The firſt Tragœdy that *Theſpis* taught was that of *Alceſtis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as p Mr *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Theſpis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as q ἀνωφελῆ ψεδολογίαν, a fruitleſſe lying. *Horace* of him thus ſpeaks.

o Athen. l. 3. p. 90.

p Ad Marm Arund.

q Laert. in Solone p 40.

Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe camœnæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis.
Quæ canerent agerentq; peruncti fœcibus ora.

Upon which words ſome have written that his Poems were ſo voluminous, that he was conſtrained to bring them upon Waines. But alas a poor conceit! r *Franciſcus Luſitius Vticenſis* is of opinion that *Theſpis* carried his ſcene upon cartes: and *Acron*; That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragœdies. *Chori plauſtris circumducti Tragœdias agebant.* ſ I avouch that at the firſt the Poets acted alone their owne Fables; And to me it ſeems a ground for to ſtand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴς, intimating a Poet. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριτὴς, &c. The ancients, ſaies t *Vlpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas actors*, which we now terme *Tragœdi*, ſuch as *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, &c. The place in which they ſung their Poems, was a Scene upon a waine drawn in proceſſion to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the cuſtome was, ſaies the Scholiaſt of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in thoſe ancient times, * *Plutarch* ſhall thus informe you. Ἀμφορέα οἴνου καὶ χλημάτις, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and laſt of all the *Phallus*. In which ſolemnity the Poets in Wains following the pomp, might without controle laugh, ſcorne, and deride any they met, ſaies x *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*

r In Horatii Poeticen.

ſ Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.

t In Demoſt. p. 40.

u Stel. β. p. 107.

* περὶ φιλόπλ. p. 343.

x Antiq. Rom. l. 7.

ſæus; or were wont, as the [y] Schol. of *Nazian.* to rayle upon each other. whence πομπεύειν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in a good ſenſe ſometimes [z] to celebrate the pomp, or goe in proceſſion in honour to the feſtivall) & [a] πομπεία, a ſcandall or reproach. ἔβεσε, λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek proverb, [b] ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης λέγειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro loqui*, and [c] ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro convitiari*, to give reines to the tongue, to be free in abuſe. Which that they might doe the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca, olei fæce*, with the dregs of oyle, ſaies *Donat*, or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρύγα) from which Poets by [d] *Ariſtophanes* are called τρυγοδαίμονες. *Horace* -- *Perunctis fæcibus ora.* Sometimes would they put on vizards, [e] which leaſt they ſhould hurt the head, were defended from the skinne with a wollen cap, named πίλιδιον. A word elegantly uſed by [f] *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunity of the perſons that wrote it. Οὐκ ὄψει δήπου σὺ γε πλικίτην ἢ τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων κἂν πίλιδιον λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν κεφαλῶν. Think not to eſcape ſcot free for ſuch villanie, though you get a *pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any ſladerer, of whom we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeak of the ſtage, I will therefore returne to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragœdies; ſo called, as *Donat.* tels, becauſe (leaſt there ſhould be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namq; pro dono his dabatur.* τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδή a ſong. *Horace*, *Carmine qui Tragico velim certavit ob hircum.* Before that time ſome ſay that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies, but the moſt received opinion is this which *Horace* hath ſet downe of *Theſpis*. Before him there was no art of poeſie Tragicall, but at their feſtivals, when they aſcribed all their mirth and delight to their gods, they did it eſpecial-

[y] Loco Laud.
[z] Hermog. Meth. de Eloquentia c. 2 p. 519.
[a] Dem. pro Coron. p. 134.
[b] Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.
[c] Vlpian. in loco cit. Dem.
[d] Nubibus p. 141.
[e] Vlpian. in Dem. p. 254.
[f] De falſa Legatione.

ly to *Bacchus* (and ſo afterward, when Actors are called διονύσου τεχνῖ, and τεχνῖ ſimply by [g] *Demoſthenes*, by *Donat* *Artifices*. The word is uſed for Juglers, and ſuch as *Hokus Pokus* in [h] *Theophraſtus*) they would feaſt, and afterward ſcoffe and deride each other, which grew afterwards a part of their ſolemnity. They would moreover dance at rude Muſick, and from thence ſuppoſe they the *Chorus* to have ſprung up. They would likewiſe caſt forth αὐτοχεδιάσματα, as they terme them, in [i] *Virgils* language, *verſus incomptos*, [k] *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi ſolitos & ſine arte*. For they had of old but two ſorts of verſes, *Heroicks*, in which they ſung the praiſe of Gods and Noble-men, & from this in a ſhort time, with ſmall care grew a Tragœdie; the other ſort was *Iambicks* as toying and laſcivious as the *Phallica*, but biting t o & from hence came a Comœdie. At firſt ſmall was the difference between a Tragœdy and Comedy, [l] *conſtat ſane, primis temporibus ignoratum fuiſſe diſcrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reaſon is, becauſe even Tragœdies had their wantonneſſe and petulancy. At firſt they ſung in honour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praiſed their Demi-gods, which when the people ſaw they cryed downe, with οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbiall adverb is fitly uſed ἀ προσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpoſe. But to give content to the people, the Satyres did *Præludere*. But after that, when a Tragœdy took ſtate they excluded the Satyres, and were only for ſad and ſerious perſons; by which mournfull poëms the people were wont to be caſt down, ſympathizing with the perſon repreſented, therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton Satyres were brought in by *Theſpis* as [m] *Horace*.

Mox etiam aggreſtes Satyros nudavit, & aſper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functuſq; ſacris, & potus & exlex.

In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or elſe the perſons

[g] *Orat. mega.* p. 242
[h] *Charact.* vi. *Caſaub.*
[i] *Geor.* 2.
[k] *Caſaub. de Sat. Poeſi. l.* 1.
[l] *Caſaub ib.*
[m] *De arte Poet.*

perſons are Satyrick & ridiculous, and for the eaſing of the mindes of the ſpectators, they would bring in Satyres for ſports ſake; and many of their Tragœdies had ſome mixture of Satyrick ſport, ſaies n *Caſaubon. Fuiſſe aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I ſay *Theſpis* was the firſt inventor, who likewiſe to eaſe the *Chorus* (o for that acted only) brought one actor upon the ſtage, to whom *Æſchylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, ſo the number was three, *Æſchylus's* is δεύτερα γωνιςής, *Sophocles* his τριτα γωνιςής, a word put for an obſcure and baſe fellow in p *Demoſthenes, Ulpian* ὡς ἀδυνάτως & ἧττον ἱκανοῦ, ſpeaking of *Æſchines*, if I remember. *Tully* calls them Actors *ſecundarum & tertiarum partium.* q *Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, ſæpe illum qui ſecundarum & tertiarum partium, cum poſſit aliquanto clarius dicere, quam ipſe primarum, multum ſummittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat.* But let me ſpeake what I have to ſay of a Tragœdie. a None was permitted once to act *Æſchylus, Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. Τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα ἀναγιγνώσκειν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ὁμοίως, ἐκ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἱκανοῖς γενέσθαι. And to this purpoſe by a Law of *Lycurgus* the Oratour were they commanded to be tranſcribed, and kept under cuſtody ἐν κοινῷ. Yet the b Author of the life of *Æſchylus* writes, that the people made a decree, that he ſhould receive ſuch a ſumme of gold, that would διδάξειν the plaies of *Æſchylus* after his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere*. Becauſe Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were ſaid εἰς διδασκαλῶν τῶν κοινῶν ἐργάζεσθαι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the ancients lay out ſo much mony upon their Theaters. c *Sed immane quos quantoſq; ſumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræſentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utriſq; emendari, ac prudentiam conferri, ſed & ſcripta antiquiſſima, & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magiſtratuum, cum ſummo ſpectatorum fructu,*

n P. 129 de Sat. Poeſi.

o Laert p. 220

p 184.

q In. divinat.

a Plutarch. in vita X Rhet. P 452. B.

b Iuxta finem.

c Heinſius Proleg. ad Ariſtarchum Sacrum.

in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac graviſſima ſubinde publico ſuppeditari crederent conſilia. Not unaptly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. *I came hither to teach you, not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdy or Comœdy the Greek writers ſay, [d] διδάσκειν, *docetur fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as ſometime διδάσκειν, as you may ſee in [e] *Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies repreſent their own Fables, but ort-times their predeceſſors; ſo ſaies [f] *Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æſchylus* to be dealt with, becauſe in many places his verſes were not ſet in order. He brought greater grace to the ſtage, & firſt taught σκηνογραφίαν, the painting of the Scenes; which ſome think *Horace* to aime at, when he ſaies, *Modicis inſtravit pulpita cignis.* Which becauſe it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay ſpoken affirmatively by ſome) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ χαρυτογῆσαι, bring in many new things. ſuch as leaving out the actiō of the Poet (for before the Poet himſelf acted) by reaſon of the badneſſe of his own voyce; he found out white ſhooes, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteene, before but twelve; he fitted likewiſe his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. but that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot finde. Somewhat likewiſe was added by *Euripides*: [g] as to ſet out the Argument of the Fable in the begining of the Tragœdie, as you may obſerve; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the laſt and principall point of that one action which he would repreſent, which by the glory of our nation, [h] Sr *Philip Sidney*, is not paſt by, as frivolous, without noting. Theſe three were the Princes of Tragick ſtile, who exhibited to the People every year at ſome certain ſolemnities their Poems, ſtriving who ſhould get the victory by the approbation of Judges, choſen for that purpoſe, called [i] διονυσιακοὶ κριταὶ, and [k] κριταὶ εἰς διονύσιον; Tenne in number think ſome, at firſt, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Becauſe

[d] Athenæus Dip. l. 6. pag. 268. vide Caub.
[e] Pag. 270.
[f] Lib. 10.
[g] T. magiſter.
[h] *In the defence of Poeſie.*
[i] Heinſius in Prolog. ad Ariſtarchum ſacrum.
[k] Æſchines cont. Ctesiph.

cauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Scyrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoon as the Theater was filled, and ſpectators placed; but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captaines, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed ſacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicily*, where he died, and was buried neare *Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick judges was alwaies Tenne. This we acknowledge done in teſtimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* ſervice. And yet in judgement upon Tragœdians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies & Comœdies. The number of Tragick judges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. [m] *Cum neq; provocatio ab iis eſſet, neq; de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, [n] Πέντε κριτὰι ἐς γύναι κεῖ. *ſub quinq; Judicibus lis eſt.* The [o] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertaine. Judges, quoth he, paſſe cenſures upon the Comœdians, & they who had five voyces were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been tenne of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equall voyces. For the odde gave a great ſtroake. Hence wiſhes the *Chorus* in the behalfe of the Poet -- Ενὶ κείλῃ γλαῦξ μόνον, to be victor by one voyce only. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick judges had free liberty of ſuffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: for whē *Ariſtophanes* taught his Νεφέλας, they ſo much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, ᾧ ϖροθύμως πᾶς κριτὴς ἄνωθεν ἀεὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γεράρειν, ſaies [p] *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Ariſtophanes* uppermoſt (as the faſhion was, which [q] *Ariſtophanes*

[l] Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

[m] Heinſius loco laudato.

[n] Zenobius

[o] Ad Aves p. 562.

[p] Var. H. l. 2.

[q] Av. b p. 562.

nes

nes cals πρωτεύοντι ἐν πολλοῖς, the moſt excellent firſt, the next to him ſecond, and next to him third (which was no ſmall praiſe, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honeſtum eſt in ſecundis tertiiſve conſiſtere*) and no other. For which cauſe I ſuppoſe the Poets before reciting, were wont to ſacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and ſpectators. [r] *Ariſtophanes*.

r Loco laud.

Ὀμνυμ' ὀμὶ τέτοις πᾶσι νικᾶν τοὺς κριτὰς
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι-- Where the Scholiaſt interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be underſtood, δέομαι, to *ſupplicate*. And good reaſon. For if they pleaſed not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with ſtones. To which uſe [s] *Ariſtophanes* points, ſaying -- ὡς ἐβάλλετο; nay ſometime would they hiſſe them, which they terme κλώζειν & συρίττειν, ſometime ſtamp them out of the Theater, which they call πατροκοπεῖν, by [t] *Pollux* interpreted ἐδώλια & πόρτας κατακρούειν. Another difference is that [u] the Comick Judges were puniſhed if they judged not right, the Tragick not ſo. And for theſe reaſons have ſome conjectured, nay poſitively written, that their Judges were of two ſorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they cõfounded both, making no oddes between the Critick Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your authors ſhall afford authority. Before judges, as I ſaid, the Poets in emulation preſented their labours, & they who in their opinion loſt the day, were ſaid * ἐκπίπτειν, by [x] *Caſaubon* interpreted *non ſtare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragœdies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionyſia in agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the month *Poſideon*, on the *Antheſteria*, or *Dionyſia* in *Limnis*, in the month *Antheſterion*, on *Dionyſia* in *urbe* in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thraſylus* in [y] *Laertius*, which ſome deny, yet the ſame write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this feſtivall. I ſay but one, becauſe it was a cuſtome among the Poets of ancient daies to entertain their people with

(Ranis p.248

s Lib.6.c.19. p.203.

u Æſchines contra Cteſiph. p.98.

* Heinſius Prolegom. x Sat. Poeſi.

y Platone pag.210.

with more plaies then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modo singulas committerent fabulas, modo plures*, saies [z] *Casaubon*: Sometime in the same yeare three, and then was it called τελογία; sometimes foure, and then they stiled it πεντελογία. [a] Τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof, saies mine Author, the fourth was a Satyricall play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Oresteia*; to wit Λαμπάς, Χοηφόροι. Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides Medea. Philoctetes. Dictys*. The fourth was Θερισταί, saies the Author of the Argument to *Medea*. Where the Interpreter seemes to mee not to reach to the expression of the Greeke word Θερισταί, Σάτυροι; *Messores, Satyros*; hee ought to have rendred it thus, *Messores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word beares this sense is sufficiently dilucidated by [b] *Casaubon*. That the greatest taske of action lay on the *Chorus*, is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comœdies were twentie foure, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of foure: but στοῖχοι foure, each στοῖχος six men) in Tragœdies fiftie, untill the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which so terrified the people, [c] that the children and younger sort fainted, & the women suffered abortion; for which reason, saies *Pollux*, the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteene, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into στοίχους, and ζυγὰ. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ πάροδος, by file. Στοῖχος, when they came on the stage in ranke five at a time: and this they terme κατὰ στοίχους. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they say κατὰ ἕνα. Of Interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had aboue three; but if a fourth spake, that they named Δραχορίσματα: and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth actor, it was stiled Δραπλάσιον. To speake of the severall verses of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*;

[z] De Satyrica Poesi. p. 131.

[a] Laertius loco citato.

[b] Lib. laudat.

[c] Author vitæ Æschyli.

and I had rather ſpeak of the action, then the art in compoſing & yet not much, only this of their motions, termed στροφαὶ & ἀντιστροφαὶ. Στροφὴ, ſaies the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in analogie to the motion of the univerſe τῆς δυσμῆς, from the Eaſt to the Weſt; becauſe *Homer* cals the Eaſt the right hand, the Weſt the left: contrary to the Hebrews, who terme the South *Jamin*, which ſignifies the right hand, & the North they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the Weſt to the Eaſt, that is frō the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another poſture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be ſo in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Muſick, which I beleeve) to expreſſe the immobilitie of the earth they ſtood ſtill. They uſed *Epodes* for the moſt part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the ſtage. Thus much of Tragœdies; the authors of which were highly of old eſteemed of; inſomuch as after the diſmall diſcomfeit of the [d] *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they were relieved, who could repeat ſomewhat of the *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by [e] *Lycurgus*, & eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, & *Euripides* had ſtatues erected in braſſe for the continuation of their memory. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applauſe taught, as [f] *Horace*,

Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia, non ſine multa
Laude—

He ſaies, *vetus Comœdia*, becauſe a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you pleaſe ſo to ſpeak, two ſorts, the Old & New. I ſaid three ſorts, becauſe * the old was different from it ſelfe. The meaning is, that the old Comœdie, of which *Suſarion* (by ſome named *Sannyrion*) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the ſmoaking altars, ſung *ſimplex carmen*, ſome naked verſe, ſaies *Donat.* Which by *Cratinus* was redreſſed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his ſport, profit, I meane for inſtruction. For under the *Democracie* it was lawfull to exagitate and propoſe for

[d] Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.
[e] Plut. in vit. x Reſp. Panſ. Atticis p. 18.
[f] De arte Poetica.
* Grammat. ἡ παλαιὰ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν διαφόρων.

for a laughing ſtock Captaines & corrupt Judges, Citizens given to briberie, and ſuch as lead a diſſolute life, naming the men upon the ſtage and fitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the ſhape of thoſe whom they intended to deride. But as the State grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe, againſt whom he wrote his Comœdie *Baptæ*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not [a] ὀνομαστὶ Κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*.

[a] Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.

---Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, Chorusq;
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leaſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and inſteed of abuſing ſtates and people, they fell upon ancient Poets, or ſome part of Hiſtory not truely written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous: ſometimes iceſſing on the ſtage at meane men, and this they termed Νέα Κωμῳδία, the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a peece of the *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage, unleſſe they would themſelves ſaies [c] *Xenophon*: knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλούσιος, γενναῖος, δυνάμενος. Some are of opinion that no Player came on the ſtage untill thirtie or fortie; I diſpute not the matter; ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdie at twentie eight, in which doubtleſſe himſelfe came on the ſtage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. [d] *Æmilius Probus*. *In ſcenam verò prodire; & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eaſdem gentibus (Græcia) fuiſſe turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atq; ab honeſtate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies, and paſtimes was in the market place, [e] where they nayled ſcaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in ancient time they

[b] Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt, &c.

[c] Athen. Rep.

[d] Præfatione ad vitas. p. 2.

[e] Meurſ. Attic Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

they had no Theater of ſtone, onely of wood, which they call ἰκρία. [f] *Ariſtophan.*

f Theſmoph. p. 787.

—Ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων
Τυμβλέπτου ἡμᾶς—

Theſe were built by ſome, who upon ſome conſideration of money admitted any to a ſeat, named therefore [g] θεάτρα. Once it ſeemes places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuſes. For ſtriving to get places, there roſe wrangling and brawls, and fights, wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place ſhould be hired for two *oboli* (in the Conſulſhip of *Diophantus*: a *Drachme*, ſay ſome, whence roſe the Proverbe, [h] δραχμὴ χαλῶσα; becauſe at the eſtabliſhing of it, there fell haile) This money they called θεωρικὸν, from θεωρεῖν: becauſe with it they did θέαν ἀγοράζειν, buy a ſeat to behold the ſhews exhibited. Now becauſe the poore people had not to give, and ſo were deprived of the ſpectacle, *Pericles* deſiring to be popular, made a law that they ſhould receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man. [i] For the right of exacting which money, they were to produce the authoritie of the *Lexiarthicall Roles*, as appeares out of *Demoſthenes*. For the diſtribution of this were certaine officers appointed, named οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν. But afterwards *Apollodorus* ſtrove that in warre and publike neceſſitie, theſe ſummes might be imployed in military affayres, but he endeavoured in vaine; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capitall for any that ſhould attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes [k] *Demoſthenes* deſiſt, willing, yet not daring to perſwade to convert the mony to the uſe of the Armie. But ſee the folly of them! [l] For they ſpent as much as theſe ſports as in obtaining the Maſtery and libertie of *Greece*. And the end was miſerable: for they became effœminate, and ſo put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoake. [m] *Juſtin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amiſſo, quem æmulari conſueverant, in ſegnitiem torporemq; reſoluti, non ut olim in claſſem exercitusq; ſed in dies feſtos, apparatuſq; ludorum, redditus pub-*

g Caſaub in Theoph. p. 245.

h Zenobius.

i Cont Leocha. p. 617. n. 50 51.

k Olynth 1. p 7.

l Lacon. apud Plut. Mor. p. 421.

m Lib 6. fine.

licos

licos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobiliſſimis, poetiſq; theatra celebrant, frequentius ſcenam, quam caſtra viſentes. Verſificatores Oratoreſq; meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo ante milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum eſt. Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum & obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theatre I will ſay little, as alſo of the ſtage: Onely that the places in the Theater were not promiſcuous. For there was a diſtinction betweene the Senators and younger ſort. The Senatours was named [n] Χαλκιδικὸν, among which it is probable the Judges had the firſt place, as [o] *Pollux*. The ſeats for the youth were called Ἐφηβικὸν. One part of the ſtage was *Orcheſtra*, in which was Θυμέλη, either a Tribunal or an Altar. That upon all their ſtages there was an Altar ſacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat*: he ſaies it ſtood on one ſide of the ſtage, before the doores, *Pollux:* who names it Αλείνος. There was moreover a Table called Πλαθὸς, on which before the time of *Theſpis* ſome body aſcending in the Poets place, did anſwer the *Chorus*. [p] *Plutarch* thinks Θέαν to be derived from Θεὸς, becauſe that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Muſick*, onely for inſtitution of youth and praiſe of their Gods, ſung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

[n] Ariſtop. P. 578.
[o] Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 202.
[p] De Muſica p. 241.

LIBER TERTIVS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis. Νόμοι, ἄγραφοι καὶ ἔγγραφοι. *De Sanciendis Legibus.*

AS [a] *Justin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government, passing by the perpetual and decennal Consuls, and naming only the yearely: so hath he erred in the originall of their Laws, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seemes otherwise. For, as [b] *Gerardus* hath observed, *Theseus* gave Lawes to the *Athenians*. And [c] *Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick* people, and constituted a *Democracie*, he reserved only to himselfe the government of warre and custodie of Lawes. δημοκρατίαν (θεσέως) αὐτῷ μόνον ἀρχὴν πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακα καταλιπόντος. Adde to this, that before the knowledge of letters and writing, it was a custome among the anciẽts to sing their Laws, least they might forget them, used in the daies of [d] *Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi* a people neere to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rule

a Lib. 2. p. 27.
b Arist Plut. pag. 67.
c In Theseo p. 8. l. 2.
d Problem 19. sect. 28. fol. 89. b.

rules of Muſick, for the true keeping of time, ſinging, & plaiing, are ſuppoſed to bee called Νόμοι. Neither may it bee thought otherwiſe, becauſe all the notes of the [e] *Lydian, Hypolydian*, &c. *Dorick, Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick*, &c. ſongs were diſtinguiſhed by the Alphabet. Yet [f] *Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from thoſe bounds, which the Muſitians of old preſcribed, for the tuning of voices or inſtruments, leaſt they might be confounded: and therefore he calls it δικαίαν τάσιν. [g] *Idem.* Νόμοι δὲ προσηγορεύθησαν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξῆν παραβαίνειν καθάπαξ τὰ τεταγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν τόνων. The Greekes, ſaies [h] *Cicero*, thinke the cauſe of this word, *jus ſuum cuiq; tribuendo*, intimating νέμειν, which ſignifies to diſtribute, becauſe the Law gives every man his due. Thus ſee we, that there were Lawes of yore; let [i] *Juſtin* ſay, *Nullæ civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*; That the Cittie was without Law, becauſe the wills of Kings were Lawes. In ſucceeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Lawes, living about the three [k] hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts ſaies [l] *Ælian*, were called Θεσμοί. Ἐκάλουν δ' ἐκεῖνοι θεσμούς. Now θεσμὸς, by [m] *Ulpian* is interpreted νόμος παραινετικὸς πῶς δεῖ νομοθετεῖν. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet [n] *Ariſtotle* calls them νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great ſeverity. Which gave occaſion to [a] *Herodicus* to ſay, that they were not the Lawes of man, ἀλλὰ δράκοντος, in a double ſenſe of the word, vvhich is alſo put for a Dragon. And [b] *Demades*, that they vvere not written vvith black, but blood. For he puniſhed every Peccadillo almoſt with death, thoſe that were convicted of idleneſſe, or ſtealing of pothearbs, alike the ſacrilegious and man-ſlayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except thoſe which concerned murther, intituled ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him ſucceeded * *Solon*, a man ſo well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of both

e Vide Alypium in Iſagoge muſca.

f In libro de Muſica.

g Loco citato pag 437.

h De leg. lib. 1 fol. 26. b.

i Loco laudat.

k Clem. Alex. p 226.

l Variæ hiſt. l. 8. c. 10.

m Arg. orat. con Leptu.

n Polit. 2 c. 10

a Ariſt. Rhet. l. 2 c. 44.

b Plut. in Solone p 63. l. 2

* Demoſth. p 70.

* *His Lawes* (ſtinued 100 *yeares, ſaies* Plutarch. *in* Solone p. 66: *ſtrength.* *& afterward by litle and litle decayed.* Ælian: Variæ hiſt. l. 2. c. 22. *If any ſtake againſt them, he had corporall puniſhment.*

both, having ſtill a care, leaſt while he ſhould ſide with one, he might diſpleaſe the other. Whom, for his uprightneſſe, [c] *Juvenal* ſtiles *Juſtum*, and for the care of the Republique, which [d] *Demoſthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes, [e] *Ariſtophanes* tearmes, φιλόδημον, a lover of the people. [f] *Plato* brings him learning his Lawes from a *Barbarian*: And [g] *Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterward into *Ægypt*. But it ſeemes by [h] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgement of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. *Et Solon adjutus ſententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis juſto moderamine legibus, Romano quoq; Juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* [i] *Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. Firſt, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the Countries their names written, and by what meanes they ſuſtained themſelves; wherein if any were found falſe, or that lived by unjuſt gaine, hee fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a cuſtome among them, that payment ſhould be made onely with the goods of the debtor, & that the body ſhould not ſuffer. For they thought the eſtate alone to be ſubject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergoe hazard for their country ſhould for uſurie be committed to priſon, or the country be in jeopardy for the avarice of ſome one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the firſt decree, as [k] *Laertius* & [l] *Plutarch* ſay, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to ſatisfy the craving loaner, were cõpelled to ſerve. Hee therefore cut off all *uſe*, [a] as ſome write, or elſe [b] leſſenned the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his law σεισάχθεια, ſo called from σείειν, to ſhake off, and ἄχθος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himſelfe firſt, [c] as *Laertius*, ſeaven talents; or, as [d] *Plutarch* five. But this ſeemes to have beene done for the avoiding of the aſperſiõ caſt upon him as acceſſarie to the injuries of ſome, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

[c] Sat. 10. verſ. 274.
[d] Κατὰ Ανδρ. p. 390.
[e] Pag. 190.
[f] In Timæo.
[g] In Solone p. 66. l. 31.
[h] Lib. 22.
[i] Bibliotheca.
[k] Initio vitæ Solonis.
[l] In Solone. p. 62. l. 8.
[a] Plutarch. p. 62.
[b] Andrócio.
[c] Loco laud.
[d] Pag. 62. *fifteene ſaies* Polyzetus Rhodius.

much mony with hope of never making reſtitution. *e* *Caſaubon* conceited that this was not his firſt exploit, but long after he had ſate at the ſterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it ſeemes probable; There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common people. Which he to bring in an innovation of Lawes did willingly invent; & they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in teſtimony of their approbation, they kept a Feſtivall named *f* Σεισάχθεια. Here likewiſe you may obſerve the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their owne vices putting gilded names on thoſe things, which themſelves were aſhamed of, calling *g* πόρνας, ἑταίρας; φόρυ, σωμπαξίς; φυλακὰς, φρουρὰς τῆς πόλεως; λεπτυντήριον, διαιτημα &c. as our blades name drunkenneſſe, good fellowſhip; whores, ſhe ſinners; and niggardiſe, thriftineſſe; ſpringing from this root of *Solons*, who called χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν Σεισάχθειαν. *h* To theſe Lawes two ends were propoſed, mutuall commerce. and direction of behaviour towards the ſtate. *i* To curb wickedneſſe, and injuſtice; & to puniſh offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civill Law. Each City, as *k* *Juſtinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam ſi quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit.* They were engraven in tables of wood called *l* ἄξονες, triangular, if we may beleeve the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, who quotes *Ariſtotle* & *Apollodorus*, witneſſing that they were called κύρβεις alſo ἀφὸ τὸ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἄξεις εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεταμένον, from the elevation. *n* Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods & their worſhip were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Lawes belonging to men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* ſayes that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, becauſe they were written in ſtone, and ſo ſet up, [a] which from their ſtanding were termed στῆλαι. I know that decrees, merits, praiſe and diſpraiſe too, were written in ſtone. Whence *b* λογὸς στηλιδιτικὸς may be put for a Treatiſe tending

e In Laert. p. 14.
f Plutarch. p. 62. l. 43.
g Plutarch. loco laudato.
h Dem. p. 477.
i Idem p. 484.
k Inſtitut. l. 2. Tit. 2. Sed jure quidem civile ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Athenienſium.
l Sch. Apollo. Rho. Argo. 4.
m In Avibus pag. 604.
n Vide Plut. p. 66.
[a] ἀπὸ ϛάσεως.
b Vide Nonnum in Naz. στηλα.

tending to a mans diſgrace. But this by the way. Theſe Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, tranſlated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the daies of *c Plutarch*, ſome reliques of them were to be ſeene. The *Autographon* or coppy written with his owne hand was not removed, but thoſe that were tranſcribed by them. Becauſe in matters of doubt and controverſie they might have recourſe unto them. * For the diſtinction of which, ſome think that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος is uſed in *Demoſthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the table; but to mee it ſeemes improbable, for then the number of the table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table ſometimes could not containe a Law. For we read in *dPlutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averſe from the gueſſe of *Petitus*, who ſuppoſes the Oratour to mean the Law which afterward he quotes; not ignorant of the opinion of ſome, who think that it is to be underſtood of the under line. For the Lawes being written βυστροφηδὸν, *converſo ſive retrogrado literarum ordine*, ſaies *e Silburgius*; which *f Pauſanias* explaines, ὁπὸ τὰ λαιὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, from the right hand to the left, *g* more ſignificantly, Ἀπὸ τῆ πίεζης τῦ ἕτερς ἐπιστρέφει ἢ ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον, ὥσπερ οἱ διαύλε δρόμῳ. When the ſecond verſe begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if I ſhall ſpeak neareſt to the word, as husbandmen turne their Oxen when they plough, as for example:

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ
ΧΘΞΕΗΚΥΧ

See thoſe that have written of divers wayes of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος, After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtleſſe there were ſome cuſtomes as ſtrong as Lawes. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of cuſtome, & the *Athenians* by written ſtatutes, as *h Joſephus*, yet ſurely had their cuſtomes great force, inſomuch as *i Ariſtophanes* uſes νόμος for ἔθος. Ἀρχὰ νόμῳ κρατύνεται. *Scholiaſtes.* νόμον νῦν ὁ πάντα ἢ μεγαμβὸν φησὶν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθος. So did the *k Greekes* divide

b In Solone p. 66.

* Pollux lib.8. pag. 408.

d Solone pag. 63. l. 37.

e In Pauſaniam. p. 426.
f In Eliacis p. 174.
g Eodem lib. pag. 165.

h Contra Appionem. Vide Juſtinianum. Inſt. l. 1. tit. 2.
i In Avibus pag. 576.
k pag. 577.
l Vide Juſtinianum.

divide their Lawes into ἐγγράφους καὶ ἀγράφους, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *ſine ſcripto jus venit, quod uſus approbavit*, uſe. The *c* Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus: Νόμος ὁ μὲν ἔγγραφος σωτήρια, σωτήρια δ' ἄγραφος νόμος. A Law is a written cuſtome, and a cuſtome an unwritten Law. Beſides theſe there were decrees which they termed ψηφίσματα, *Pſephiſmata*, a word uſed by *d* Cicero, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων ἰδιόπης διαφέρειν οὐ νόμοι. *e* Demoſthenes: who meanes in vertue and power. For they differ much. A Law maintaines juſtice once found, common for ever. A *Pſephiſma* followes the neceſſitie of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not warlike affaires, but is applied unto the occaſion of armes, & as Lawes can be abrogated, ſo degrees chanced. And here ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater then a Law. Of decrees there were two ſorts; *h* τῆς βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, ſuch as the Senate by it ſelfe eſtabliſhed, which were but of twelve months continuance; to the confirming of which, the people were not convocated, or their conſent required, termed ἰδιόγνωμα βουλεύματα, which *Demoſthenes* proves to be ἐπίτεια. *Ulpian.* ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν. Like to the edict of the Romon *Pretors* which laſted but a yeare. *k* Cicero. *Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto, Pretoris edictum legem annuam eſſe dicunt.* In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time. *l* τὰ μὲν τοῦ δήμου προβούλια καὶ πολλοῦ μένει χρόνου. And therefore we may eaſily know a *probuleuma* from a decree of the peoples confirming, by this obſervation. Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ onely, gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma*. Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ in the beginning of a decree, ſhews it to be ψήφισμα περὶ δήμου κύρος λάμβανον. The Senate alwaies ſate in conſultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any damage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law commanding that no decree ſhould goe forth without deliberation. *m* ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα μὴ ἐπιτίνει ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον. Which done, the *Prytaneis* tooke certain Tables and wrote on them

c In Ajacem Locrilum.
d In Orat. pro Flacco.
e Cont. Lept. p. 296.
f Ariſtides. Tom. 2. p. 30.
g Demoſthen. pag. 416.
h Demoſthen. κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους. p. 417.
i Ulp. in Dem. p. 418.
k In Verr. 1.
l Ulpian. loco laudato.
m Ulp. in Arg. Orat. And. p. 184. Vide Dem. p. 182. n. 10. vi. Plut. Solone. p. 63. l. 31.

Such or such a day about such a time there should be an assembly to consults of these and these affaires: and this they called *a* προγραμμα. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood; if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raze out a Decree of any table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniences to arise by oversight in their Law-giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every yeare there should be διαχειροτονία νόμων, which *b Ulpian* expounds διάσκεψις ὅ, τι δεῖ ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν νόμων. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Lawes. *c* The manner was this. Every eleventh day of July in the assembly after the Crier had made his prayers, as his fashion was, and shall anon be spoken of, the Lawes were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next the weale-publique, and thirdly the *9. Archons*, & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-weale, &c. If any of the Laws in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned untill the last of the three daies of the three Cõvocations; on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the revising and reciting of the Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chiefe of the Assembly, were to *d* acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the *Athenians*, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the judgement of the *Nomotheta*, chosen out of the Councell of five hundred, was the businesse carried, that the Lawes should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever should bring in a new Law, was to write in a Table, *e* εἰς λίθους, *Demosthenes*, the forme thereof, and set it up at the Statutes of the *Heroes* before spoken of, *f* πρόθεσις τῶν ἐπωνύμων, which

a Sch. in Naz. καλ. *a* pag. 55. vid. Ulp. in Dem. p. 240.

b Demosth. p. 445.

c Vid. Dem. loco cit.

d προγραφεῖν Demosthen. Ulp. *expounds* προβάλλειν, *to report.*

e Cont. Timocr. p. 446.

f Demosth. p. 297.

which ſtanding in a place conſpicuous, that ſome certaine dayes before the Seſſions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; & if any ſo pleaſed, he might at the propoſall of the Law declare his mind either for, or againſt it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our High Court of Parliament*, where it is not denyed any *Burges* or *Knight* of a ſhire, to ſpeak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill or ſome part thereof, or in oppoſition to it, or ſome one clauſe. Provided likewiſe, that he, who attempted to enact a new Statute, ſhould take care for the diſanulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwiſe hee came within the compaſſe of παρανομίας γραφῆς, a writ of *Tranſgreſſion of the Laws*: which was of two ſorts. Firſt, when time is not obſerved in writing them, *a* ὃν δεῖ ἀριθμὸν χρόνον. Next when one is made that is adverſe to a former. And if it ſo hapned, that any perſwaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publike, he might be queſtioned within *b* a yeares ſpace; *c* but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay, they ſlew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; ſcarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom, he that would propoſe a Law, ſhould do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requeſt pleaſed not, he ſtraight way powred out his ſoule under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators, which are called *e* δημαγωγοὶ, becauſe they lead the people with their Rhetoricke and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learne out of *f Demoſthenes*; and therefore are they deciphered by *g Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντες.

a Ulp. in Dem. p. 397.
b Dem. Orat. Arg. cont. Leptinem.
c Dem. p. 419.
d Idem p. 468.
e Gellius l. 3. c. 13. Iſ. Caliſtratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi δημαγωγοὺς appellant.
Livie Dec. 4. of Athens, ubi Oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur.
Ulpian. δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων.
f Pag. 468. n. 225.
g Dipnoſ. l. 12.

CAP. II.

De Comitiis. Κυρία & Σύγκλητος Ἐκκλησία, *&c.*

THe Aſſemblies were called by the *Prytaneis* foure times in five and thirty daies. *f* In the firſt they confirmed

f Pollux l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. p. 398.

med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out. They heard publique causes, looked into confiscate goods, & possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speake of private and publique affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadours, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytaneis*. In the fourth they treated of holy things, such as belong to their gods & worship of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*; the second the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference betweene the *g* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the dayes on which they came together, one making the first day of the moneth to be the day on which the first assembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which seems truest. And whereas they both write that every month there were three lawfull assemblies, to wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth; or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not so to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They seem to have been called Κυρίαι ἐκκλησίαι, because in them they did κυρεῖν ψηφίσματα, establish decrees, as the *a* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termed *b* σύγκλητοι, when warre, or any sudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over & above those foure times in a *Prytanea*. They are styled σύγκλητοι, because the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation some went about the Citie and called them. There is likewise *c* κατεκκλησία, when they were summoned out of the fields to goe to the Assembly. It seems to me that the Crier in the streets on their lawfull assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much *d* *Aristophanes* witnesses, bringing in the woman speaking that it is high time to be stirring, because the Cryes—δεύτερον κεκράγκασιν, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning

g In Achar. p. 371.
b In Dem. p. 445.
a In Achar.
b Ulp. & Sch. Arist. loc. laud.
c Poll. p. 405.
d In concionantib. p. 725.

warning,and compulſion too;for ſo ſlow were they in comming to aſſemblies,that the *Legiſta* were fane to thong them to the meetings,as the Schol. of *Ariſtoph:* on theſe words, *e* Τὲς δ' ἵμασπις ὁι Λεπρῶν, Sometimes they tooke a rope, and dying it with red earth,they ſent two ſlaves into the market place,who ſhould one of the one ſide of the way,&the other of the oppoſite,purſue the people,& to whoſe chance it fell to be marked with the paint,paid a certain peece of money. Hence in the *f* Comœdian— Κἄνω κἀπὶ τὸ χαινίον ἐὰν γνῶσι τὸ μεμιλτωμένον. Up and downe they ſhun the cord ſtained with Vermilion. And againe— ἢ μίλτ' ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε γέλων παρέχων ἐμοὶ περισσὸν κύκλῳ *Iupiter*,the red earth which flew about made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the ſtreets except thoſe that led the *Eccleſia*: Sometimes take away all their ſaleable wares which they brought into the market, leſt people intent on their traffique ſhould abſent themſelves from the Aſſemblies. When they had met oft times the company would be diſmiſſed at ſome prodigious ſigne,as thunder,lightning,tempeſt,and the like,which they called *h* Διοσημεία: *i* and earthquakes, or other occaſions, deferring the Aſſemblies meeting untill the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to ſit,one man ſacrificed;which rites were called *a* Εἰσιτήρια,becauſe they were done at the entry of the Councell. *b* *Vlpian*,προηγεῖται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς βουλῆς ὁ τὰς θυσίας ποιούμενος. I will not juſtly ſay that it was the purification made with a young pig,before the bench was ſate;and yet I may preſume to averre it;the Grammarian that interprets *c* *Ariſtophanes* witneſſeth that immediately preceding the Seſſions this cuſtome was obſerved by one, whom they named καθαρτὴς, from καθαίρειν, τὸ καθαίρειν, which ſignifies cleanſing, becauſe by that he purged the Aſſembly, Theater, and congreſſe of the people. After they were ſate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the good of the people,*e* & curſed thoſe who ſhould offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this,he ſpake with a lowd voyce

e In Achar. p. 406.

f Ariſtoph. Achar.p.371.

g Schol. Ariſt. loco laudato.

h Vide Ariſt. p.379.

i Plut.p.386. l 7.& 384.l. 34.

a Demoſth. παραπρ. 341.

b Vide & Vlp. p.351.

c In Concion. p.728. A.

d Demoſth. Ὑπερ. 313.

e Id. p.418.

voice, *f* Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; who will make a ſpeech; whereupon one of the [g] Elders aroſe that gave his verdict, it being not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had ſpent his judgement. Whence by *h* *Demoſthenes* they are ſtiled οἱ εἰωθότες, thoſe that were wont to orate. After they had finiſhed their ſayings, others had leave to declare themſelves. Neither muſt we omit the faſhion they had to exclude all private men from their aſſemblies ſometimes, when the Senate alone ſate, or the *Areopageticall* Councell; ſometimes to debarre all ſervants, ſtrangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted, & then was it called ἐκκλησιαστήριον βῆμα καὶ τὸ θέατρον, an open Theater to all commers. The place of meeting was called Πνύξ, *Pnyx*, ἀπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος ἀνθρώπων ἐν αὐτῇ, from the frequent concourſe of people there. It ſtood on a rock, and therefore by *Ariſtophanes* is called πέτρα. 345. Sch. ὀφαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ. There was a ſtipend for them that came to Aſſemblies, as you may ſee in *Demoſth: contra Timoc.* And πρὸς βοιωτὸν ἕνεκα ὀβολοῦ. Becauſe they might be at leaſure without dammage. *Ariſtot. Pol.* 1. *c.* 13. They aſſembld alſo in *Piraeus. Ulp. in Dem.*

f Alcidamus Ariſtoph. p. 372. Diod. Sic. l. 15.

g Demoſth. p. 29. Æſchines contra Cteſ. initio.

h Philippic. 2.

[i] Plut. p. 552. L. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πενταχοσίων.

WHen the mutiny betweene the faction of *Megacles* and *Cyle* diſturbed the *Attick* Common-wealth, *Solon* perſwaded the people that thoſe, whom for their audacity in drawing away the ſuppliants from the Altars they named ἐναγεῖς ſhould undergoe judgement, there were choſen [k] three hundred men, ἐξ ἰσίνδην, according to their worth, to ſit upon the caſe. But theſe were not a perpetuall judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the uſury

[k] Plut. Solone, p. 60. l. 31.

uſury money, then was the Grand Councell ordained; out of every Tribe, which were then but foure, an hundred choſen, who by their advice ſhould direct the people in thoſe things which were to be handled, leſt any thing ſhould be inducted, or propoſed to the Aſſembly, without due conſideration. Who from their office in a *Democracie*, *m* *Ariſtotle* ſaies are more properly called βουλοι, but where the Root ruſes, Βουλή. But when *Cliſthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed ὁ καταγωνίσας τὴν πολιτείαν, had augmented the number of the Tribes from foure to tenne, eighty ſix yeares after *Solon's* Lawes were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times make up the ſumme. This Councell by *Ariſtotle* is deſcribed ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων, *The Miſtreſſe of all the reſt*: and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἄνω Βουλὴ in *a Plutarch*, is to be underſtood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were above the Senate, but as inſtituted firſt by *Solon*, and ſo related by the Author. And yet I know *b* one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quàm officio, ſecundum poſt Areopagitas locum obtinuere.* To this Councel none was choſen under thirty yeares of age, which time is ſtiled Βουλευτικὴ ἡλικία by *e Libanius*. And doubtleſſe *d Plutarch* juſtifies it ſpeaking that *Demoſthenes* wrote his Orations againſt *Androtio*, *Timocrates*, *Ariſtocrates*, ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτείας φυσιολημπτους, when he had not attained to the managing of ſtate buſineſſe, becauſe he wanted two or three of thirty yeares. Agreeing to this is *e Junius*, who ſaies that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very wiſe to Magiſtracy or Councell. Nay the *f* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* tels us that green heads were not permitted to ſpeake publikely. The law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as ſome ſay (which is trueſt) thirty, on theſe words.

Κἄγω παρθένος γ' ἦν, κοὐκ ἐξῆν πω μοι τεκεῖν.

Which to be otherwiſe underſtood by ſome, is not hidden from me. They were called likewiſe Ἡλιασταὶ, as well as Περιπαλόπιοι, and their Tribunall Ἡλιαία, from the word *g* ἁλίζεσθαι,

m Polit. l. 6. c. 2.

a in Solon. p. 63.

b Poſſardus. *falſe, for* Pauſanias *calls it* μίγιστον in Attic. p. 27. l. 15.

c In Arg. orat. con. Androt.

d Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

e Stobæus ſerm. 112.

f In Nub. p. 157.

g Ulp. in Dem. p. 445.

which signifies to throng together, because the people were frequent there. But the more probable reason is, *h* ἐκ τοῦ ὑπαιθρον εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πάσαν καὶ τοῦ ἥλιον ἐκεῖ ἔνδον προβάλλειν, because the place was open and exposed to the Sunne. And in respect of this *i Aristophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, Εἶτα κατ' ὄρθρον, ἡλιάσεις πρὸς Ἥλιον, *In the morning thou shalt* ἡλιάζειν in the sun-shine. At their admission they had this oath given them. *k* ψηφιῶ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, &c. *I will give sentence according to the Lawes, and decrees of the people of Athens, and Councell of five hundred: I will not consent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchie: Neither shall my approbation be to any that will dissolve the Democracie of Athens by speech or decree. I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the Athenian lands or houses. I will not bring back exiled men, or those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any innocent against the Lawes and Statutes of the Athenians, & Senate of five hundred: neither by my selfe or suffer any other. I will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of his former office, whether of the nine Archons, or agents for the holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambassadors and assistants. Neither shall the same man beare the same office twice, or two in one yeare. I will not take gifts for judgement, neither my selfe or other for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not yonger then thirty. I will heare both parties, the accuser & defendant alike. I will passe judgement aright in the thing prosecuted. I sweare by* Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is also another oath which they tooke; some clauses whereof, we have left in record. *To ratifie the Lawes of Solon. Plutarch in Solone.* p.62. *To give councel for the best of the people. To advise according to the Laws. I will not bind any Athenian who shall give three sureties of the same revennes, unlesse for treason, or hee conspire the subversion of state popular, or buy custome, or be engaged, or gather publike money and not pay it. I will sit in that order which lot shall direct me to. I will not permit any unlesse banished*

b Ulp. loc. laudato. vide & Aristoph. Sc. p. 436.

i Pag. 486.

k Dem. Orat. cont. Tim.

* *If I transgresse any of these, let mee and my house perish, but if I faithfully keepe them according to my oath, let us be happy and prosperous.* Dem. p. 470.

nished, to be accused or imprisoned for what is past. This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when *a Thrasybulus* gave them to oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηστίαν. The authority of this Councel was great, for it handled causes of war, tributes, making of Lawes, civill businesses and events, affaires of confederates, collections of mony, performance of sacred rites, accounts of offices discharged, appointing keepers for prisoners & ἐπιτροπὰς of Orphanes, as *b Xenophon.* *c* Resembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right & possessions of private men changed, formes of religion established, Subsidies, Tailes, Taxes, and Impositions appointed, waights and measures altered, &c. As not unlike also the *Venetian Gran Consiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarene*, *d Tutta la cura del governo della Repnblica appertiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common-wealths government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified & inviolable. By their authority & rule is peace confirmed & war denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Commonwealth at their appointment collected and gathered in, and likewise laid out againe and defrayed, &c. In a word, I may say of these five hundred, as *a Budæus* of the Parliament of *France*; *Amplissimam eam curiam causarumq; omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court is most ample, and justly & equally decided all sorts of controversies whatsoever. *b* To their charge was committed the making of new ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the people. To this alludes *c Aristophanes.* Ποδαπὸ τὸ γένος; Ἐν ὅσῳ αἱ τριήρεις κλαυσὶ. Ἐπ' Μὰν Ἡλιαστάς;—— *d* Without their consent could the people do nought, as indeed they made not any thing *sanctum* against the peoples wills. Hence in *e Demosthenes*, * βουλὴν ποιήσαντ' ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ κυρίαν. In testimony of their preheminence are they termed *f* Κύριοι ἡμῶν, and *g* οἱ κατὰ κρίσιν. The Lords of sentence.

a Vide Zeno. in Ἕλλην. Cic. in it. Phil. 1. Velleium Paterculum. l. 2. p. 84. Arist. Sch. in πλ. Æschin. contr. Ctesiph.

b Athen. Rep. pag. 407.

c See Sir Tho Smith *in the Commonwealth of England.*

d As Branchius Additimi *hath translated it.* lib. 3. fol. 34. B

a In Pandect. Prio. p. 298.

b Dem. 385.
c Avib. p. 548.
d Sch. Arist. p. 93.
e Pol. 254.
f Demosth. in Mid. Ἀλλ.
g Idem in Mid.

time of warre they would ſend Commiſſions to their Captaines, as they thought requiſite. *b* Such as in the battaile betweene the *Lacedemonians* and their countrimen in *Tanagra*, where fearing leaſt *Cimon* baniſhed by *Oſtraciſme* ſhould betray them to the *Laconians*, they ſent to the Commanders not to entertaine him in the Army. This honour was not during terme of life, but every yeare changed. *Apoſtolius*, ἢ μὴν τὴν ταξιαρχίαν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν κληροῦσθαι βουλόμενοι. Which *Anonymus in Arg: Orat: contr Androt.* expreſſes by κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διαδίχεται. The manner of chooſing them is this. *i* The chiefe of every tribe, on an apppointed day before the beginning of the moneth *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that were capable of this dignity, and caſt them written into a veſſell, & into another they put an hundred white beanes, and all the reſt blacke; Then drawing out a name and then a beane, to whoſe chance the white beane fell to be extracted with his name, was deſigned Senator. This they did when they had but foure Tribes, and ſo foure hundred Senatours. But when they had ten Tribes, there could be but fifty white beanes, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election obſerved by the *k* Venetians upon the fourth day of December, when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of citizens, nor paſſed twentie five yeares old, are put into a pot, and carried unto the Prince, & there the ſame ſet before the Councellors, with which there is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written in the firſt, every one having his marks, the fift part of theſe bals is guilded with gold, the reſt with ſilver. The Prince taketh out of the firſt pot the ball, which if it be of the golden ſort, the young man whoſe name is drawne, is preſently admitted to publique authority, they to whom the ſilver chance, looſe it for that time, expecting it the enſuing yeare, unleſſe in the mean ſpace they accompliſh twentie five, at which age all the young Noble men partake of

b Plut. in Cimone p. 356. l. 50.

i Verbo Emmius in Deſcrip. Reip. Athen.

k Contaren. l. 1. fol. 11. b.

of the Cities liberties. So every year the fift part of the yonkers is choſen to give voyce with the other Citizens. The uſe in chooſing I deem the ſame, & ſhall untill I find authentike writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Cliſthenes* according to their Tribes, ſo by his ſucceſſours. For when they added two, the number was encreaſed 100, by reaſon of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias*, after named *Attalis* & *Ptolemais* in honour to the Kings of that name which were benefactors to the State; *a* ὅθεν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, ἑξακοσίων ἐγένοντο. *b* Out of theſe were their Judges choſen; but ſuch as were above threeſcore yeares old. For although juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age. εἰσῆρχον τε μὲν εἰς τὸν ἐκκλησίαν. οὐκ ἐδίκαζον δέ. To theſe was any buſineſſe referred, of which the Senate and people were in ſuſpenſe what to determine. *c Ariſtoph.* Επὶ δ' ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὅταν κεῖται μέγα πρᾶγμα, διορῶσι ἐξαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τῶν διαιτῶν ἐθέλουσιν. When the Councell and people are in doubt how to judge a great matter, They decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And no marvell. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κρίνειν, prerogative in ſentence, ſaies *d Ariſtotle*; that is, to ſtate thoſe Queſtions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving ſentence before the third yeare of the ninety ſecond Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they ſate by turne in their own Tribes every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly ten Tribes in *Athens*, they choſe out of each five men, and to which one of them the chance happened, and ſate Judge. I cannot ſay that the manner of election was like that of the *e Syracuſans* concerning the Prieſt of *Iupiter*, who taking the names of ſo many as were nominated and caſting them into a pot, created him, whoſe name ſhould firſt be drawne: of that ſacred function. But of our own muſt I ſpeake. *f* When then they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with him a table and a wand on which was written a letter that did betoken ſome Judicatory, (For there being ten Tribunals

a Stephanus περὶ πολ.

b Ariſt. Schol. p. 370.

c In Veſpiſ. p. 471.

d Pal. l. 3. c. 13. περὶ ὧν ὀνόμασι διωκατέον εἰζειν.

e Cic. in Verrem. Act. 3.

f Ariſtophan. πολ. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red letter, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, &c. to Κ. over the doore) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom A. was taken out, sate in the Court noted with A. and B. with B and so to K. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand & Table. This they did, lest any should rashly attempt to sit and pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that rod of authority a wand or staffe: because that *g* Βακτηρία καὶ ῥάβδος τριβώνιον ἢ τριώβολον, was a proverb used in diri-sion of the Judges *h* This staffe at the daies end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the *a Scholiast* teaches us other waies, saying, that the *Demagôgi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* words the Oratour, Ὠγίφοντες Ηλιασταὶ, φοιτῶντες τριωβόλου, Οὓς ἐγὼ βόσκω.— *Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not alwaies the same, ἐχ ἴσου, *b* saies the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First they had *obolum*, which *Calistratus*, surnamed *Parnytes* was author of. Hence the proverb *c* Ὀβολὸν δοῦναι Παρνύτῃ. After wards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word ἀπὸ τοῦ Καλλικράτους it may be for a pretty summe of money. Nay it changed, for now I read of Ὀβολὸς Ηλιαστικὸς one, and anon τριώβολον three, a *e Drachme* or two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes lesse. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their cases of Law, in which I shall adde.

g Suidas proverb.
h Sch. Aristoph. νλ. 30.
i In Equites, pag. 301.
b In nubes pag. 1174.
c Appendix Vaticana.
d Zenobius.
e Sch. Aristoph. pag. 487.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custome to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report to the Iudicatory. And this they did by a Table in which was written, *f* Καταγορῶ τῦδε καὶ προκλῶμαι τῦτον διὰ τῦ δίκη εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceedings, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate before the accusation; to which *g Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestrâ, ibi nomina Faxo erunt*— when this note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiffe, whether he had witnesses

f Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.
g Asinaria Act. 1. p. 154.

witneſſes and would proſequute the matter, who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance, and this he did either by himſelfe or other, called therefore κλητὴρ, *b* for κλῆσις is ἡ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀγωγή, a bringing into ſuit: καλῶν γὰρ εἰς δικαστήρια. The word ſignifies a witneſſe alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunall, they bad any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them. *i* Κλητῆρες δὲ οἱ καλοῦντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πάντας· σημαίνει δὲ καὶ λέξις καὶ τὴν μάρτυρα. You may uſe κλητὴρ for an Apparator, Sergeant, Bailiffe or the like. Sometimes they would runne ſtraight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *k Demoſthenes* his phraſe, ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of *l Ariſtophanes*. Κἄθ' ἕλκον αὐτόν— But if the partie could put in two ἀξιόχεως, ſufficient bayle, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the *m* Comœdian. Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητάς σοι κατασήσω δύο Ἀξιόχεως. *I will procure thee a couple of able ſureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a weeke or more, after the *vocationem in jus*, at which time if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Iudgement ſeat, he came within compaſſe of ἔρημος *a Writ of Eremodicium*, refuſall to come in and anſwer. Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ ἔρημος in tenne daies after. For when the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *in dicta causâ*, ſo *a Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμου καταδικασθῆναι, by this therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at firſt, the ſentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ δοῦσα, *b* ὅτι πρότερον δοκοῦσα εἶχε μὲν κυρωθῆναι, ὕστερον εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀφείστατο, *becauſe in the beginning it ſeemed to carry ſome power, but at laſt was nothing.* The buſineſſe then made a new, the party that was caſt by an ἔρημος, after that he had obtained a μὴ δοῦσα, was within two Moneths to ſet the Law on foot, which they terme ἀντιλαχεῖν δίκῃ, or elſe the ſentence given before was ratified. Whoſoever ſhould offer to call any man to the Court, unleſſe upon good grounds, was liable

b Sch. Ariſt. 190.

i Sch. Ariſt. p. 442.

k ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον βαδίζειν p. 596. n. 17.

l In Veſpis pag. 487.

m Ariſt. Concio. p. 755.

a In Prioris & Poſt. No. ad Pand.

b Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.

c Pollux. l. 8. p. 390.

liable to βλαπτικὰς δίκης, a writ of moleſtation for a falſe cauſe. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the ſumme of the defendants anſwer. This the *Greeks* call *d* ἀντιγραφὴν, *Antigraphen.* Though I know alſo that all caſes in law were termed *e* ἐγκλήματα, κἀντιγεγραμμένα. They tooke this courſe becauſe the Defendant might know what to anſwer. And becauſe it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuſe out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a *f.* Law, that whoſoever accuſed & had not the fift part of the voices, ſhould be fined a thouſand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was alſo puniſhed in the purſe a certaine ſumme; *g* which if he paid not at the conſtituted time was foure fold; & if his ability reached not ſo far, he ſuffered impriſonment. At the preſenting of the *Antigraphe*, teſtimonies were alſo delivered, (formes of which you ſhall often meet with in *b Demoſthenes*) & a copy of an oath, which the Suiter gave, in theſe words *i* Ταληθῆ κατηγορήσειν, that he would juſtly accuſe. Ταληθῆ ἀπολογήσασθαι, that he would according to truth make his Apologie: and this they name *k* ἀντωμοσίαν. Theſe writings were caſt into a certain coffer, forth comming as occaſion ſhould require; all which *l Ariſtophanes* in one verſe comprehends. Αντωμοσίας τε προσκλήσεις τε μαρτυρίας συνεκόλλων, They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & teſtimonies. I ſo interpret it againſt the Scholiaſts mind, who will have προσκλήσεις to be exhortations given to the Plaintiffe and Defendant to come to compoſition. But I know that *m* προσκαλεῖσθαι is κατηγορεῖν, εἰς δικαστήριον ἕλκειν, to accuſe, *in jus rapere*, *n* and προσκλήσεως, διὰ μαρτύρων ἀπαχθήσεως. The cheſt or coffer was called ἰκρίνος, and of this are the words of the Greeke Oratours to be underſtood *o* εἰς ἰκρίνον βάλλειν. *p* Theophraſtus of a mad man that would intangle himſelfe in any thing, ἔχων ἰκρίνον ἐν τῷ προσκολπίῳ, τε ὁρμαθὸς γεγραμμένων ἐν τῇ χειρί. Having an *Echinus* in his lap, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* makes a different expoſition of this oath from that

d You have a forme of this in Demoſt. p. 628.

e Ariſt. Nub. p. 154. v. Sch.

f Demoſt. pag. 716. n. 7.

g Ariſt. Schol. p. 170.

b Unum contra Stephan. ψευδ. α. p. 622. aliud p. 624. 629.

i Schol. Ariſt. Veſp. 505.

k In Veſp. p. 467. 505.

l In Veſp. p. 504.

m Schol. Ariſt. 239.

n Idem p. 195.

o Demoſthen. 622. n. 35. 629. n. 80. 640. n. 22. 655. n. 65. 665. n. 66.

p Charact. περὶ ἀοχνίας. p. 21.

that which other Grammarians doe, confounding, as is most probable, the ἐπωμοσία and ἀντωμοσία with ὀμοσία. For ἐπωμοσία is that first oath which the Plaintif gave to prosequute, the party prosequuted to answere, which on the defendants side was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both. Διωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did [a] πρόξαντα διώκειν, follow the delinquent in Law: the defendant ὡς οὐκ ἐπρᾶξεν ἀποφάσκειν, to stād stifly to it that he did not trespasse. And yet [b] *Vlpian* makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another admitted to the judicatory, it being first demanded of the Suiter [c] whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, and had sufficient witnesses for evidence; in causes capitall it was asked if there were need of any, who could not then be present. This interrogation was termed [d] Ἀνάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient the judgemēt was prorogued by an [e] ἀντωμοσία, or an oath, which the Plaintif took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. [f] Perhaps for that time pretending sicknesse, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend. When then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunall, the Judges first swearing [g] that they would give sentence according to the Lawes, & in those things concerning which there were no Lawes, according to conscience and equity (which the Greeks call γνώμῃ δικαιοκρίτῳ) [h] and of those things only concerning which they did debate. This oath seems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones (of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. [i] *Plutarch.* ψῆφον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φέρεσθαι. The oath is called ἀμφιορκία. Then went the Judges to their seats [k] neatly spred with matts, in Greeke ψιάδια and ψιάδες and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the Bars, in this form [l] μετὰ σκηπτὸν ἔξω, they sate down. For we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the Romans, with lettice I suppose, by them

[a] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 505.
[b] In Demost. p 287.
[c] Vide Vlpian in Dem. pp. 347, 341.
[d] Bud. in Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p. 341.
[e] Vlpian in Demp. p 226 *the* Scho. *of* Aristoph. *Makes it the same with* ἀντωμοσία. πλ. p. 75.
[f] Vlpian in Demost. 341.
[g] Pollux l. 8. pag. 406.
[h] Dem. pag. 628.
[i] Pag. 132.
[k] Aristoph. Sch. p. 239.
[l] Demost.

called [m] κάγγελλοι *Cancellatæ*, by the Greekes κιγκλίδες, [n] though κιγκλὶ, more properly ſignify the doore of the δικαστηρίου, before which was [o] a rope of fifty feet length drawn, and publique ſervants ſet, that none might enter, but who had buſineſſe. The partition I think was but weak, & therefore by *Demoſthenes* called ἐλαφρὰ κιγκλὶς. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when [a] *Demoſthenes* did long to hear *Calliſtratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogue* that he would bring him, where he might have the happineſſe to be an auditor. The *Pædagogue* therefore acquainted with the publique officers that opened the doores, τοὺς ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια δωροῦται, procured him a place where he might heare and not be ſeen, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενος & ἀδήλως ἀκούσῃ. When then the Judges had gone within the bars, leaſt any ſhould be wanting the *Præco* cried [b] Εἴ τις δύσεται Ηλιαστὴς, εἰσίτω, if any Judge be without the doore of the place of judgement, let him enter.[c] Becauſe if any came after the caſe began to be pleaded, he could not have admiſſion. Being then ſeated the Crier read the Inditement, ἔγκλημα a copy of ſome part of which you have in [d] *Demoſthenes*. ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΒΟΤΑΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ, &c.) in which according to the cuſtome of the [e] old *Ægyptians*, were given up to the court in writing all the reaſons of accuſation, the wrong received & the manner of it, with an eſtimation of the dammage; The ſeverall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, leaſt the Impleader and Defendant ſhould ſwerve from what they had in hand. Then ſtood up the Suiter in a Pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunall, & ſpak an accuſatory oration, made for the moſt part by ſome of the *Attick* Oratours: which uſe brought in by * *Antiphon* the *Rhamnuſian*, [f] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls διανυκτὸς λόγους εἰς ἔνδοξον γεγονέναι [g] *Cicero* ſcribere aliis cauſas, *quibus in judiciis uterentur*, ſuch as *Lyſias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which leaſt it ſhould exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a veſſell,

in

[m] Poll. lib. 8. p 407.
[n] Pollux loco citato.
[o] This is ἀσχολίσμα. Pollux.
[p] Pag. 485.
[a] Plutarch. in Vita.
[b] Ariſtoph. p. 494
[c] Ariſtoph. Sch. Ibid.
[d] Περὶ Παραπρεσβ. p. 567.
[e] Boemus De. Cuſtum. delle Genti lib. 1. cap. 5.
* Ariſt. Rhet. l. 1. c. 33.
[f] Stromat. 1. pag. 126.
[g] In Bruto.

in the bottome of which was a ſmall hole for water to run, as ſand doth in our houre-glaſſes, thence called κλεψύδρα. into which was poured an equall meaſure of water; and leaſt there ſhould be deceit, there was an officer made for that purpoſe, named [h] Ἔφυδρος, ὁ ἐπιφυλάττων τῷ ἰσότητα τῶν κλεψύδρων, filling alike for the Impleader and anſwerer. [i] When therefore the glaſſe was runne, it was not lawfull for them to ſpeak farther, [k] nay for ſcantineſſe of time they were compelled to paſſe by many things, and for that reaſon were they chary of their water, bidding that it ſhould be ſtopped at the reciting of Lawes, or the like, which *Demoſthenes* intimates in Σὺ δ' ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ as ῥῖπα ἐπιλαμβάνῃ is to ſtop the noſe in [l] *Ariſtophanes*. [m] *Apuleius*. *At tu interea dum legit, aquam ſuſtine*. *Pancirollus*. *Ne ſi aqua interim efluxiſſet, amplius ſibi dicendi præbita foret facultas*, leaſt he might not have leave to ſpeak any more, if the water were ſpent. If any would give way to another to ſpeak while his glaſſe was runing, he might; which *Demoſt.* teſtifies: ἐν τῷ ἐμοῦ ὕδατι λάλει. But if he would not permit it, he bad the *Præco* caſt it forth [a] ἐξέρα τὸ ὕδωρ. *Ulpian*. Τυτίσιν ἐκβαλλε, From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb [b] πρὸς τὴν κλεψύδρα, [c] *Cicero*, *ad clepſydram*, to ſpeak by the houre or an allotted time. His ſpeech being ended, he ſate down. [d] The defendant then ſitting all that while over againſt him, untill he had finiſhed. after addreſſed himſelfe to his anſwer, which he made from the right hand of the Judicatorie; where he had a pulpit, & ſtation. For this reaſon ſaies [e] *Ariſtotle*, becauſe they would make both parties equall, For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper hand to the defendant. Or becauſe πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ φεύγοντες or defendants, were for the moſt part in cuſtody; δικῶν. If therefore the guard ſtood on the right hand, the defendant ſtood there alſo. Thence then he pleaded for himſelfe; in which plea, he was only to wipe out thoſe accuſations which his adverſary laid againſt him, [f] μόνον κατηγορηθέντων λύσαι πάντα, And in that had the plaintif a prerogative. For he might

b Pollux I. 8, p. 404.
i Vlpian in Dem. p. 356.
k Demoſth. περὶ Βοιωτ. p. 586.
l In Pluto.
m Apologia.
a Demoſth.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 617.
c Tuſc. Qu. l. 2. in fine.
d Vlpian in Dem. 226.
e Problem. περὶ δικῶν.
f Vlpian in Demoſth. p. 252.

g Loco laudato.

h Demoſt. 219.

i Clemens Alex. *Theſe had certain petriſoggers under them, that adminiſtred the Lawes and formes of action* Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedulâ adducti miniſtros ſe præbent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos παράγυαπκοι vocantur.

k Corneliana Vide ad Atticum l 1 c, 13

l Vide Lactium in vita eius.

object what he would, nay and as g *Ariſtotle*, forecaſt all before he commenced his ſuit, and feigne to himſelfe what he pleaſed; The defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that inſtant to clear himſelfe, h either by witneſſe, or probabilities, of all doubts, whatſoever the plaintif could caſt in. Sometimes the Plaintif and Defendant would deſire Advocates of the Judges, Συνηγόρους, hence i δεῖ μισθῶ συνηγορεῖν, to plead for a fee. In the time of their pleading, witneſſes were called, who came in, and gave their teſtimonies, and after they had uttered what they had to ſay, they went to the Altar (as it ſeems to mee, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and ſwore. k *Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos ſanctè graviterq; vixiſſet, & teſtimonium dixiſſet ſublicè, &, ut mos Græcorum eſt, jurandi cauſa ad aras accederet, una voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamaſſe.* They report that in Athens when a certain man (l *Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly and gravely among them, had given witneſſe, and as the faſhion of the Greekes is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voyce cryed that he ſhould not. (They would not, it ſeems, have beliefe rather be bound with religion then truth) Fit to this is the anſwer of *Pericles* to a friend of his deſiring him μαρτυρεῖν ψεύδη to teſtify a lye, which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar, that is, as farre as conſcience, religion and honeſty ſhall permit; hence ἄχρι βωμοῦ φίλος ἐῶ uſq; *ad aras* grew, I ſuppoſe to be a proverb. *Plut. Apophth.* f. 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot juſtly ſay; in delivering their teſtimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reaſon to me unknown) called λοβοὶ from λαμβάνειν, *Etymologicon*; (But I rather may ſuppoſe it to be a Roman faſhion, where the Plaintif was wont to pluck his witneſſe by the eare, for remembrance ſake. *Horace lib.* 1. *Sat.* 9. *Licet atteſtari? ego vero oppono auriculam* -- To which *Virgill* looked, ſaying *Cynthius aurem vellit & admonuit. Eclog.* 6.) and at the end thereof

thereof wish all destruction to themselves and house if they dealt falsely. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ ψευδομαρτυριῶν, of false witnesse, and he that suborned them κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witnesse was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-say, which the Greek Lawyers terme ἀκοὰς as [m] ἀκοὰ πολιτικὰ, when they take from those that are dead, which went for currant, and was allowable: But to bring a testimony from the Mouth of one that was alive, and within the territories of *Athens*, it would not passe. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City, ἄτιμοι, or servants, or any man in his own cause. [a] The manner of witnesse was two-fold, either by personall appearance & testifying αὐτοπροσώπως. and then he was called μάρτυς, in no case lyable to the Law, ἀνώδυνος: or else by writing, by which he offered himselfe to his questions or attachments in Law, against whom he witnessed: if he were not true; and this is μαρτυρία Both parties being heard and the altercation ceased, the *Præco* cried, *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right*, (so they interpret ἀδικεῖν, *jus violare*) *let him cast in the black stone, or hollow, to whom he seemeth not, the whole or white.* For we must know that anciently the Greekes gave their sentences with black and white pebles, called [b] ψῆφοι (which the French semblably terme *Porcellaines*, χοῖροι porcus) [c] *Ovid.*

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisq; Lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemne the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to goe home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to goe thither, whence he never was like to escape; when one asked [d] ἐ πατρίδι πιστεύεις τὰ σὰ πράγματα; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy judge? Οὐδὲ τὴν μητέρα. quoth he, ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ἐγὼ κἀκείνους καὶ σφαλῆναι τοῦ ἁλῶναι θᾶττον, τοῦτο μέλαιναν ἐμβαλόντα αὐτὴν λευκῆς ψῆφον. No not her, that brought me

a Vlpianus Demosth. 238.

m Demost. pp. 619 634.

b Aristoph. 438.

c Metamorph. 15. F. 1.

d Ælian. Var. lib. 13. c. 38. Plut. Mor. p. 140.

me forth. For I feare leaſt ſhee being ignoraat, and not conceiving the truth, miſtake the black for the white ſtone. The black made *triſtem ſententiam*, and was ſo named, the ſad ſentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They uſed likewiſe black and white beanes; in reſpect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have ſpoken as a riddle κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν, not to eat beanes, by [e] *Nonnus* interpreted μὴ πεσδιδόντας τὸ δίκαιον ἀργυρικαῖς χρήμασιν, not to undermine juſtice with bribes; or that men ſhould get by the perverting of equity. I ſee no reaſon, but that I may think he meanes men ought not to be forward in getting places of judgement. For [f] κυαμοτρώξ in *Ariſtophanes* is by the Scholiaſt expounded δικαστὴς & [g] κυάμους τρώγων is uſed for a Judge, which properly ſignifies an eater of beanes. But afterwards they had little pellets of braſſe; The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, [h] τετρυπημένα: the ſaving were whole, ἄτρυπα. Of theſe every one took, of each one, from the Altar, as I have ſaid, [i] where laying their hands upon the ψῆφοι, or bals, they intimated by a tranſpoſition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black againe) that they would not for envy or by reſpects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were ready to paſſe ſentence [a] the *Præco* carried about the Κάδον or Καδίσκον, a certain pitcher (for ſo [b] *Xenophon* calls it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnell, named κημός, but the top thereof was covered cloſe, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoiding of deceipt, I ſuppoſe, leaſt one man might caſt in more; & therefore were they to touch the ψῆφον, only with the fore-finger, middle, and thumb. [c] *Ariſtoph.* Τὰς τρεῖς κωλίχας ἅψ' ἀκροτάτων, ἀνίσχ'. But we muſt know that the black and white pellets were not promiſcuouſly caſt into one pot, but two; [d] The one which freed was made of braſſe called φέρτερος, whether becauſe they firſt threw into it their voices, or becauſe it may ſignify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being wodden

[e] In Naz. Stellit. 17.

[f] Pagina 290.
[g] Lyſiſtrata. p. 870.

[h] Pollux l. 8. pag. 407. Vlpian in Dem: 470
[i] Vlpian in Dem: p. 162.

[a] Ariſtoph. 485.
[b] Pag. 263.

[c] Pag. 437. vide Scholiaſt.

[d] Ariſtoph. Veſpis 500.

woodden ἴστος. After the Crier had gone round with both, becauſe ſome would keep their balls, & for favour not give their voice againſt a friend or great perſon, therfore he cried [e] Τίς ἀψήφιστος; ἀνιστάσθω, who hath not caſt in his ball? let him riſe. ſo he roſe and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them, and in matter of lands, mony or the like, whoſe veſſell (for there were as many ſet as the number of the litigants came to) had moſt got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magiſtrate ſtood by with a rod, & laid it over thoſe that were told, leſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For ſo were they wont to doe; thence named [f] ψηφοκλοπίδη. Which [g] *Teucer* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*; and therefore he calls him κλέπτωνα ψηφοκλόπων. Sch. ἄλλον κεκτῆσθαι: not amiſſe ψηφοκλόπτωνα. [h] When the number was known, if the white or ſolid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a ſhort line, as a token of abſolution; if the black or hollow were more, they drew a longer line, as condemning. Hence [i] ἅπαντα πρᾶν μακρᾶν, may be uſed, for to condemne every body. The thing it ſelfe they termed [k] ἀλλαξίζειν, as *Ariſtophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (as none ever was without the ſentence of the Iudges) his adverſary wrote down what dammages he ſhould pay, which they terme ἐπιγράφειν. [m] *Plutarch.* ἀντὶ πάλαι τὰ πρόσφατα πρόσφατα ἀντὶ παλαίων ἐπιγεγράφθαι. [n] For it was a uſe of old for thoſe that went to Law to make agreements (I know not whether by oath, for they did ſweare by three Gods Ἰλιόνα, Καθάρσιον, Ξανθίππιον, and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions, before ſentence, that he that was caſt ſhould undergoe ſomewhat: and afterwards ἐπιγράφειν, that is ſet downe what loſſe of limbs or life, or means &c. For although they did [o] ἐπιγράζεσθαι give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that might be leſſe or more then the fine. There was

[e] Ariſtoph. Veſpis.

[f] Schol. Naz. in ἔνθ.

[g] opnocles Ajacc. p. 68.

[h] Schol. Anſt. 438.

[i] Ariſtoph. Veſp. loco cit.

[k] Pag. 491.

[l] Ariſtoph. p. 472.

[m] *Bios pl.* p 454.

[n] Schol. Ariſt. in ἔνθ. pag. 50.

[o] Schol. Ariſt. 740.

in

in cauſes capitall an other proceeding, like to that in the city of [a] *Venice*, where they gave two ſentences. In the firſt they determined whether they ſhould condemne or free; If in the firſt he was condemned, the manner of puniſhment was ordained in the ſecond. But if in the firſt they found no cauſe of death, they bid the accuſed to fine himſelfe, which [b] *Xenophon* intimates by τιμᾶσθαι, & if it were too little the Judges doubtleſſe made it more, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*, if I forget not: The cuſtome is ſet downe by [c] *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*. *Ergo ille quoq; damnatus eſt &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the firſt ſuffrages, but alſo by thoſe which by the appointment of the Lawes they were to give the ſecond time. For in *Athens* the accuſed being found guilty, if the offence were not capitall, they weighed and conſidered the penalty. When the ſentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the defendant, what he thought himſelfe to have deſerved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not obſerved.) In tryall if there be more for the priſoners liberty, thē againſt him, he is ſtreight acquitted, but if more then halfe be in the pot of cōdemnation he ſuffers. [d] *Socrates* at the firſt had two hundred eighty and one more againſt him, then on his ſide; and at the next eighty more were added to the former, ſo in all he had three hundred threeſcore and one condemnatory ſuffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in [e] *Demoſthenes* of *Cimon* like to be puniſhed with death ὀφλὼν τρεῖς μόνους ψήφους, if three had not been wanting. And againe [f] τρεῖς μόνοι ψῆφοι διώγνωσαν τὸν θάνατον πεῖσαι. Nay one was ſufficient, [g] *Demoſthenes*. Μιᾷ μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ. But *Ulpian* on the place ὅτε μικρὰν ὀφλὼν ζημίαν, ſaies, that he was lightly puniſhed. [h] If the voyces were equall, then was the priſoner looſed; becauſe ſometimes he might be accuſed upon ſuſpicion; or of thoſe things which he did not willingly commit, or perhaps was ſued out of envy, and many other reaſons given by [i] *Ariſtotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave

[a] Contaren de Rep. Ven. lib.3.

[b] Apolog. Socr. p. 265.

[c] De Orat. 1. fol. 61. b.

[d] Laertius in Socrat p. 115.

[e] Pag. 436.

[f] Pag. 430.

[g] Pag. 338.

[h] Ariſtoph. p. 244.

[i] Probl. Ἰμπ. 29.

leave ſome place for pitty and compaſſion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the [k] deſerts of their anceſtors: their own lives formerly well led. [l] Sometimes ſhewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray haires of their parents, but [m] mothers chiefly, to intercede in ſilence: Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view: or cauſed them to [a] come up into the βῆμα or pulpit, & ſupplicate with teares; which wrought ſo much upon the Judges, that [b] *Ariſtophanes* in a ſcoff preſents one ἀποδακρύσαντα τὴν γνώμην, drowning his ſentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the judges ſpeak to the priſoner, [c] Κάτβα, Κατάβα, wiſhing him to goe down from the βῆμα, a token often of mercy; though now and then it proved otherwiſe. Nay it was a word of diſpleaſure too, as when [d] *Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*. Νεώτατοι ὦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀπολέσαντες, they thundered out, Κολάζουσιν τυτὶ χαπ'βην. Neither may I forget [e] *Amynias* the brother of *Æſchylus* the Tragedian, who, when the people would have ſtoned his brother for ſome impiety brought on the ſtage, held up his elbow and arme without a hand, loſt in the fight at *Salamis*: by which ſpectacle the judges calling to mind the merits of *Amynias*, diſmiſſed the Poet. Neither may I omit what [f] *Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not ſo much for juſtice, as regarded what might conduce moſt to their own profit, and be convenient: [g] And that they condemned innocents, & ſpared offendors that could ſpeak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of caſes a whole yeare, ſaies [h] *Xenophon*, and [i] *Ariſtophanes*. Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς ἐπιξενωτίτους Ἐυθύνομεν, ἀλλ' ἐναύριον ἀναβεβλήμεθα. Now we doe not handle ſuits of aboue threeſcore years, but we are put off untill the next day. Τὰς ἐν τῇ ἔχουσι χρόνου ἐνδεκαζόμεθα. For we come to triall within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the caſe hung in ſuſpenſe, the name of

k Dem. p. 492 Ariſtid. T. 3. p. 292.
l Dem. p. 493
m Ariſtid. loco cit. παιδία ἀναβιβάζόμενον.
a Ariſtoph. pp. 469 499.
b Veſp. p. 499
c Sch. Ar. 500.
d Laert. Socr. p. 115.
e Ælian Var. hiſt. l. 5. c. 19.
f Athen. Rep.
g Τὸ δίκαιον αὐτοῖς μέλειν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ αὐτοῖς συμφέροντα. p. 404.
Apol. Socr. initio.
h Athen. Rep. 406.
i Ἐκκλησιαζ. 752, 753. *They are tranſlated fooliſhly into latine.*
ἐναύριον ἀναβεβλήμεθα *in what the Proctours in the Civil Law uſually mean by* in proximum *in proximum,*

the accuſed was (as among the *Romans*, whence [k] *Rei penduli*) expoſed in a publique table to the view of all men; which they terme ἐκκεῖσθαι. *Demoſthenes.* ἵνα ἐκκέοιτο περὶ τῆς [l] πατρίας. *Ulpian.* περιπεῖν καὶ πᾶσι βλέπεσθαι. You ſee here the place too, *viz.* at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία, by [m] *Demoſthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος, a bare report; but after proofe ἔλεγχος, ὅταν δὲ αὖ ἥπερ τις, καὶ παλαιὸς ὁμῶς δείξει. After judgement paſt, [n] ἀδικήματα. An inditement of ſacriledge, theft, murther, treaſon, is but αἰτία the evidence and conviction makes it ἔλεγχος, the ſentence ἀδίκημα.

k Budæus in Pand. No. Relig. p. 31.
l Demoſt. in Mid. 347.
m Cont. Andro. 388.
n Dem. p. 406

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De Areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagitæ.

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, ſtood the *Areopagus*, in the old tranſlation of the Acts of the Apoſtles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our Engliſhmen, *Mars his ſtreet*, Falſly. For [a] πάγος beares not that ſignification, but what [b] *Juſtin Martyr* interprets, ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent place. ἐν ᾧ ὄχθῳ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by [c] *Æſchylus*, & [d] *Euripides*, Ἄρεως ὄχθος, by [e] *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and [f] *Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: ſo called, as fond Antiquitie would have, [g] from the judgement of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the ſonne of *Neptune*. But [h] *Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe he was there arraigned of advoutery. μοιχείας ἐκεῖσε δίκης ἐδόκει. But alike true. It pleaſes mee well to conſider the ſuperſtition of the ancients, that conſecrated high places to their deities, & erected the ſtatues of their Gods upon hills. As [i] *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*,

a *When* Tullius *had divided the Roman field, he made on high hills & places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen and called them* πάγους. Dion Hal. 4. *Not as if it ſignified a village, but as it was ſituated. For* Pagus villa ruſtica *comes from* πηγή *Becauſe built neere a well* Perot. b In Act. p. 336. c Eumenidib. p. 296. d Electr. p. 836 e Metamorph. l. 6 fab. 2. f Vide Scalig. in conject. g Demoſt. p. 413. Pauſ. p. 26. Simeon Met. & Pachym. in vit. Dionyſ. Areopag. h Loco citato. i Pauſ. Attic. p. 31.

whence

whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymettius*, *Anchesmius*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a hill Ποσειδῶνος πάγος, *Saturne* another Κρόνου πάγος, *Pan* another Πανὸς πάγος, *Mercury* another Ἑρμοῦ πάγος, so *Mars* his *Areopagus*. [k] *Æschylus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons*, sacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came and fought against *Theseus*. Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name frō the cases in it handled, of blood wilfully shed: so *Hesychius*, Ἄρειος φονικός, That when [l] *Iuvenal* calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the [m] *Tragœdian*, *the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend councell*, then which nothing is more constant (saies [n] *Tully*, comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more severe, as by [o] *Pseudo Dictys Cretensis* it is styled *Judicium severissimum per omnem Græciam*. Then which none judged better, more just, or honest, saies [p] *Xenophon*, [q] *Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and [r] *Cicero* received the like opinion, but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* presently brings quoted in the thirteenth table, that they who had lost their liberties should be restored again, unlesse they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, *Prytanes*, *Basileis*, of murther, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, [s] Τίνες δ' ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ Σόλωνος, &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*.) [t] Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetæ* (Judges so called, because when formerly the *Basileus* made inquisition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφετῶν, that is, translated it to the *Ephetæ*, their number was but fifty one. And though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) [u] *Possardus* saies, he abolished their severity, and substituted the *Areopagites*. But [x] *Urbo emmius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate but brought it into a better forme, made it more strong and firme, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems

[k] Eumenidib. p. 296.
[l] Satyr 9 v. 100.
[m] Æschylus p. 297.
[n] Ad Atticum l. 1 ep 11.
[o] De bello Tro. l. 6. p. 147.
[p] Ἀπομνημ. p. 448.
[q] In Solone pag 63.
[r] Offic. l. 1.
[s] Loco laud.
[t] Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.
[u] De Athen. Mag. p. 446.
[x] De Rep. Athen. p. 30.

leſſened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Epheta*; *Solon* reſtored that authority & made it greater. [b] To this company none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy, and noble men; [c] famous for good life, and innocency, πὸ δὲ πᾶσι ἀνεπίληπτον, whom no man could juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay, men, whoſe behaviour was intolerable, [d] ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζόμασιν ἀνεκτοὶ ὄντες, after they were choſen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former diſpoſitions, ἀναπλάττειν τὴν φύσιν χρῶτος, changed their natures and embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertaine. [e] *Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of [f] *Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one, beſide the Nobility moſt wiſe and rich. πλὴν ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ σώφροσι διαφόντων. By which words he ſeemes to ayme at the nine *Archontes*, [g] who when they had governed one yeare, and given an account of their offices, and had adminiſtred all things juſtly, were choſen yearly into this ſociety. For which election annuall, the number was doubtfull. For ſome might dye in that ſpace or all live, and in the next yeare be encreaſed. *Volaterran* out of an old inſcription in *Acropolis*, that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ, &c. To the moſt famous *Rufius Feſtus*, *Proconſul of Greece and Areopagite*, *the Councel of Areopagus conſiſting of three hundred*; and the people of *Athens* ſet up this monument *for a teſtimoniall of his good will and benevolence*. But that might only happen when this was erected. [h] They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μή τις μεγάλως ἥμαρτε, unleſſe for ſome grand offence. [i] *Bozius* tells us (how true I wot not) that they were all Prieſts. *Athenienſes olim, &c.* The *Athenians*, quoth he, did ſtrive to challenge to themſelves the prerogative of wiſdome, and to them it is bent what the Apoſtle ſaies, *The Greeks ſeek after Wiſdome*, Nevertheleſſe their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things conſiſted of Judges that were Prieſts, and the High Prieſt

[b] Vide Maximum in Prolog. ad S. Dionyſ. opera & Niceph l. 2. in vita Dion. [c] Pachymer. [d] Iſoc. in Areopag p. 133 [e] Loco ſupra laudato. [f] Atthid l. 2. [g] Anonym. in Argu. Oratio. Androtia.

* *They were of thoſe Magiſtrates that were choſen by Lot, as the* Archon, Theſmothetæ, Baſileus, Polemarchus *for which cauſe* Pericles *was not of that number becauſe he never attained to theſe offices.* Plut. in Peric. p. 113.

[h] Anonymus loco laudat. [i] De ſtatu Italiæ adverſus Machiavel.

Prieſt of all that asked every of their ſentences, took the ſuffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For [k] they were overſeers of all, [l] Judges of wilfull murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make ſome, having a deſire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chirurgion and make an inciſion in their heads, that they might ſue him whō they hated, upon an action of battery, as [m] *Mantitheus* againſt *Bootus*. They ſate upon incendiaries, and impeiſoners, if the party died they took their doſes. [a] They ſaw that the Lawes ſhould be put in execution, ſuch as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statues. [c] In a word all great delinquencies came under their cenſures. They inquired into the behaviours of men; & we read in [d] *Xenophon* that they ſharply reproved a young man for his looſe living. Ἀναγκαίως ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρείου πάγου, &c. ſaies the *Dipnoſophiſt*. [e] *Valerius Maximus*. *Eſt & ejuſdem urbis* [f] *ſanctiſſimum concilium Areopagus* &c. There is likewiſe in that Citty the moſt ſacred Councell *Areopagus*, where they were wont moſt diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himſelfe, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they muſt give an account of their lives, might embrace honeſty. [g] The Greek author tells us that except in great caſes of neceſſity they medled not with ſtate affaires, but it ſeems otherwiſe. For if any one ſay, quoth [h] *Tully*, that the *Attick* Republique can be well governed, without the councell of the *Areopagites*; he may as well ſay that the world may be governed without the providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, [i] by the adviſe of them was the war waged, wherein *Themiſtocles* purchaſed an ever laſting memory of a victory. [k] And whē their publique treaſury was bare, they furniſhed each man with eight *Drachmes*, and ſtored the ſhips with Mariners. Which adviſe, when they had wonne the day, was a cauſe, ſaies [l] *Ariſtotle*, σωτηρίαν πᾶσιν καὶ πλεῖσιν, to give ſtrength and ſinewes to the

[k] Plutarc. Solon. p. 63.
[l] Ælian. Var. l. 15. c 15.
Dem. p. 406.
[m] Demoſt. in Orat. περὶς Βοιωτὸν περὶ ὀνόματος.
[a] Dem. p 445
[b] Pachymer.
[c] In Sympoſ. *unleſſe I am extreamly forgetfull. It is quoted likewiſe by* Athenæus Dipnoſ. l. 4 p. 167.
[e] Lib 2 c 6.
[f] Ariſtides T. 1. p. 331. περὶ τῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δικαστηρίων ἱερώτατον καὶ ἀληθέστατον.
[g] Anon. Arg. Orat Androt.
[h] De natura Deorum. 2.
[i] Eſt enim bellum geſtū conſilio Senatus eius. Cicero Off. 1.
[k] Plutarch. in Themiſtocl. pag 84. l 3.
[l] Polit. l 5. c. 4.

Common-wealth. [m] Under their sight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children; not observed by our Countrymen in sending their sonnes young to the *Innes of Court*) youth and heat of blood, unstaidnesse in judgement, rashnesse in adventures, & proneneſſe to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of religion, & divulging mysteries, as when [n] *Euryclides* the *Hierophanta* in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, Τίνες οἱόν τε ἀσεβοῦντες εἰς τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysteries? Οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες, replied, such as open them to those who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalereus* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον ἀναχθῆναι πάγον, to have been brought before the Councell of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority St *Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) [a] For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *sui juris*, & permitted them to keep their ancient customes. The mãner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the fellony committed, the appellant brought his inditement to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three severall times to debate the businesse, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, [b] and putting off the crown which he was wont to weare, sate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, saies [c] *Lucian*, that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden [d] παραμυθεῖσθαι καὶ οἰκτίζεσθαι, to move to compassion, and use Proems as in other Courts, wherein they craved the judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed [e] παραῤῥήσεις. This [g] *Aristotle*

[m] Isocrates Reop p. 132.

[n] Laert. lib. 2. in Aristippo. p 154.

[a] Symeon Metaphrast.

[b] Pollux, l. 8.

[c] Hermotim. p. 505.

[d] Pollux. pag. 405.

[e] Vide Vlp. in Demost. pag. 396.

ſtotle calls ἔξω τῆς παρχμαίας λέγειν. to ſpeak beſide the matter. Before the triall both parties ſweare (which they ſtile [g] ὁμοσία) The appealer ſtanding upon the *teſtes* of a Goat, a Ram, & a Bull (uſuall to the *Greeks, as Tyndareus* ſwore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they ſhould revenge any wrong done to her and her predeſtinated husband, [h] ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱκνεῖσθαι ἐπὶ πρίωνα, and *Hercules* to the children of *Heleus* ἐπὶ πρίωνα κάπρου) took oath, therefore named ὅρκος ἐπὶ πρίωνι; in which he maintained that he dealt juſtly and rightly, & that he was joyned in affinity to the ſlaine man; [k] which if he were not, he could not proſecute, the Law forbidding. The reaſon why he ſtood ἐπὶ πρίωνι, I ſuppoſe is, becauſe they are the inſtruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wiſhed an extirpation of his houſe, himſelfe, and his poſterity In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no puniſhment, as among the Romans. [i] *Jurisjurandi contempta religio ſatis Deum ultorem habet.* For ſwearing is puniſhed by a revenging God, but if any ſwore falſe by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *julian* Law, *Læſæ Majeſtatis*. After this the priſoner ſwore; which among us will not be allowed. Then ſetting each of them upon [a] two ſilver ſtones, one of which was named λίθος Ὕβρεως, the ſtone of injury; the other Ἀναιδείας, by *Adrian Junius* thought Ἀναιδείας of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the priſoner three queſtions, which [b] *Æſchylus* calls πεῖα πυθόμενα. Firſt, whether he were guilty or no, [c] εἰ κατέκτονας to which he anſwered, ἔκτονα or οὐκ ἔκτονα, yea or nay. ſecondly, [d] ὅτῳ κατέκτονας for what reaſon he did the murther. thirdly, Τίνες βεβούλευνται, who were the Abettors. Then aroſe there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the murther was committed [d] σὺν δίκῃ, in juſtice. ([e] For in *Athens* there were ſuch Counſellors, to whom in matters of difficulty they had reſort) By σὺν δίκῃ you muſt underſtād thoſe cauſes, in which [f] *Draco* thought it lawfull to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleanes with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or concubine, or any whō he

[g] Pollux loco laudato Dem. cont. Ariſtocr. p 413.
[h] Pauſanias Lacon. p 103.
[i] Idem Meſſeniacis p. 126.
[k] Demoſth. p. 608. & 416. *Theſe agreed ſaies* Poſſard. *about the puniſhment, according to the damnage received*, De Athen. Mag. p. 449.
[l] Lib. 2. C. de reb. cred.
[a] Paus. Attic. p. 27.
[b] Eumenid. p 292.
[c] Ibidem.
[d] Æſchylus p 293.
[e] Demoſt. vid. p. 647.
[f] Demoſt. p. 312.

Vid. Demoſt. cont. Ariſtocr.

he accounts among his childrē; the party ſo offending might be ſlain in the manner by him, againſt whom he had treſpaſſed. Likewiſe, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theefe were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquiſition, they paſſed to ſentence, which was given very privily, as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*;

Vide Sylvium in Orat. pro Flacco.

without ſpeaking (as the *Tabellares ſententiæ* of the *Romans*, in which they wrot C if they condemned. A if abſolved. N L if the caſe were not manifeſt) hence Ἀρεοπαγίτης σιγανώτερος, for one that is cloſe and ſilent; and Ἀρεοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, & in whoſe countenance is [g] *triſtis ſeveritas*. ὅτι τῆς σκυθρωπῶν καὶ ἀφορμένων καὶ σιωπηλῶν.

[g] Terentius.

Whatſoever they concluded of, ſtood irrecoverable, [h] neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunall. And no marvail. For ſo upright was their ſentence, [i] that none either Appellant or Priſoner, could ever ſay, that he was unjuſtly condemned. Nay both parties, as well thoſe that are caſt, as they that caſt, are alike contented. [k] ἀπρόσωποι γὰρ ὁμοίως τοῖς κατηγορικοῖς. After doom the priſoner was to ſuffer death. In which execution alſo the *Areopagites* had a care leaſt the innocent ſhould be puniſhed with the guilty. [l] When therefore they had condemned a woman for poyſoning another, they deferred the execution, becauſe ſhe was great with child, and ſtraight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which cuſtome is by us alſo obſerved at our Aſſiſes.

[h] Ἡ τῶν κείνη ἐκ ἐξ-δυ τῆ κατ-δίκη ἔφεσις. Pachymerius.

[i] Demoſt. con Ariſtocrat. p. 413.

[k] Ariſtides Tom. 1. p. 285.

[l] Ælian. Var. hiſt. l. 5. c. 13.

[m] Valer. Max. p. 322.

[m] It will not be amiſſe to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconſul of *Aſia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & ſon, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuſer to appeare ſome hundred years after; that by ſuch a bottome of time, ſcarce able to be unwinded, they might ſhew, that neither would condemne nor acquit the woman. One thing more [a] *Quintilian* tels us, that they condemned a boy

[a] Lib. quinto.

ſo

for putting out the eyes of Quailes. Becauſe it was a ſigne of a minde likely to prove moſt pernitious. Their power was ſhaken and ſomewhat pluckt downe by *b Ephialtes*, a ſore enemy of *Oligarchicall* government, and more enclining to the people, who was ſecretly ſlaine by *c Ariſtodicus* of *Tanagra*. They ſate three daies every moneth, τετάρτῃ φθίνοντος, πέμπτῃ, ἕκτῃ.

b Plutarc. Vit. p. 355. & Mor. 391.
c Plut. in Pericle. p. 113. a

CAP. III. Sect. III.

De Iudicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

After the ſiege of Troy ſome of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, *d* who kept the *Palladium*, to the coaſt of *Attica*, and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, ſuppoſing it be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demopho* ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid and defend his own; & ſlew many of the *Argivi*; which they caſt out unburied; whoſe bodies when no beaſt had toucht, (*e* οὐδὲν θηρίων ζῴων ſaies *Pollux*, the interpreter, *nullum vivum*, I better thinke it no creature, either foule or beaſt) *Acamas* ſhewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; being warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀργεῖτας, that is, *f* neither knowing nor knowne) they buried them; and in that place conſecrated the *Palladium*; where they made alſo a judicatory, for murders unwillingly committed, and called it * Ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, *juxta Palladium*, as ſome. Here was *Demopho* firſt tryed, who returning from this battaile, killed with his horſe, ſomwhat diverting, an *Athenian*; *g* For whoſe kindred ſome think he ſatisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. *h* If any had ſtricken a man or woman, & the party chanced to dye, he was judged in this Court. *i* In ſuch caſes the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not puniſhed with perpetuall exile, ἀειφυγία, as in wilfull felony; (kept by us in England once, called *Abjuration*,

d Dictis Cretenſis de bello Trojano l. 5. p. 14. P.
e Libro octavo pag. 406.
f Schol. Soph. in Oed. Tyr.
* *It is ſimply ſo called* Palladium. Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15. περὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῶν ἐν Παλλαδίῳ.
g Pauſan. Attic. pag. 27.
h Demoſt. cont. Neæram. pag. 727. vide 647.
i Demoſth. pag. 329.

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never returne) but he did [k] ἐξόρκωσιν, in a gentler terme. [l] For it was a custome of old, to give a certaine summe of mony (the *Attick* Law χρήματα ἐπίπονα, in wilfull, all was confiscate) to the kindred of the slaine, that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchase an aboad they went somewhere else. [m] *Ovid. Cade puer factâ Patroclus Opunta reliquit.* Their discontinuance was but for one yeare, [n] Ἄλλως γὰρ ἔφυγεν ὁ φονεὺς ἐπ' ἔτος ἐὰν μὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπανῇ. The mony disbursed on such occasions was properly called ποινὴ, *quasi* φοινὴ from φόνος murder, as if it were the price of blood. And the Scholiast of *Sophocles* tels us that ποινὴ is spoken only ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων of payment of money, but abusively of any punishment. [o] If the party wounded had forgiven, the offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperately hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee: otherwise he fled. And in that flight hee betooke himselfe to some acquaintance, by whom he was cleansed from the guilt with certaine ceremonies of washing, which the *Romans* call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmæon* purified. [p] *Ovid.*

Græcia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.
Actoridem Peleus ipsum quoque Pelea Phoci
Cade per Æmonias solvit Acastus aquas.
Vectam frenatis per inane draconibus Ægen
Credulus immeritâ Phasida fovit ope;
Amphiaraiades Naupactio Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit, solvit & ille nefas.
Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli posse putatis aqua.

In this ceremony they did θύειν, sacrifice, saies [q] *Demosthenes*, (which custome likewise was observed by the [r] *Trazenians* in the lustration of *Orestes* from the blood of his mother, which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated there

k Demosthenes, Midiana.
l Eust. in Iliad. I. Ἔθος παλαιὸν ἦν τῶν, φονεῦσιν τοῖς πένησι, &c.
m De Ponto lib. 1. Eleg. 4.
n Eustath: *But* Demosth. ἕως ἂν αἰδέσηται τις τοὺς ἐν γένει τὸ πεπονθότος. *Untill he obtained remission from some of the kindred of the slaine.*
o Demosth.
p Fastorum 2. initio.
c Κατὰ Ἀριστοκρ. p. 414.
d Paulan. Corinth. p. 74. Καθῆσθαι γὰρ φασιν Ὀρέστην καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ ἄλλοι, &c.

there, and yearly obſerved afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read, taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegaſus*; the ſprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrell, as I ſuppoſe, by the words following perſwaded to it; which tell us, that when the καθάρσια were buried, there ſprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καθαίρειν, δῦναι & καθαρθῆναι. This I ſaid was in his flight. Κατὰ γοῦν ὅσιόν ἐστιν καθαίρεσθαι νομίμοις τοῖς. The proceeding in this court, was firſt, ὀμωσία, ſuch as before I Mentioned, an oath of each party, accuſer and defendant: ſecondly, λόγοι, their ſpeeches of both ſides; thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστῶν, Judgement. If the priſoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murdered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he ſhould flee, as above-ſaid, untill he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Couſins of the deceaſed.

CAP. III. Sect: IV.

De Iudiciis ἐν Δελφινίῳ, Πρυτανείῳ, Φρεαττοῖ.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by [e] *Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Delphinius*, and *Diana Delphinia*, [a] where was the Tribunall named ἐν Δελφινίῳ, or ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον. [*] In this Iudicatory were heard caſes of murder, when the party confeſſed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. [b] For the Law required no puniſhment of any man that ſhould kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanneſſe with his Mother, Siſter, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewiſe if in preſervation of his goods or owne defence he ſpilt blood it was not capitall. The firſt that was arraigned here was *Theſeus*, maintaining the right he had to ſlay the theeves, ſaies [c] *Pollux* (I know not whether hee meane *Sciron* and *Procruſtes*, &c.) and *Pallas* with his children, who were rebels. Before this triall of *Theſeus*, whoſoever

[e] Plutarch pag. 4. l. 19.
[a] Schol. Ariſt. pag. 333.
[*] Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15.
[b] Demoſt. cont. Ariſt. p. 410, 411.
[c] Lib. 8. p. 406.
[d] Pauſan. Att. p. 27.

soever had slaine any body was compelled to flee the country, or staying die, were the cause never so just. Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ. Here they sate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like, fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not knowne, sentence was past on that thing which slew him; and the *f* φυλοβασιλῆς, that were the Masters of this court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of Athens, to which *g* Æschines alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους, καὶ εἴ τι οἴεσθε τῶν ἀφώνων, καὶ ἀψύχων ἐάν τινα ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ ἀποφορίζουσιν. The first thing that here was judged was an axe, wherewith the Priest, whom they call Βουτύπον, had slain an oxe on the altar of *Iupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erectheus*. Ἐν φρεαττοῖ. In that part of *Pireaum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name φρεαττύς, from *Phreatus* an *Heros*, some thinke; not because it stood in a pit, whence *b Pollux* names it ἐν φρεάτει. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwilfull murther *i* μάτην ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ἡδεσμένων, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the space of his exile it happened that he wittingly slew another, he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled in φρεαττοῖ, in a place seated on the sea; *k* τὸν ὑπερκαλύμματον ὑπὸ σκαλάμου; where the guilty drawing near in a boat or bark, was to make his apology, τὸ γῆς καὶ ἀπτόμενος, not comming to land or touching it, neither casting anchor *l* or mooring his bark; and if he were found guilty hee underwent deserved punishment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of the fact, not discharging him of the former, *m* τῶν δ' ὑπὸ πρότερον φόνων φυγῶν ἀπῆγε. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this triall, he was exposed to the cruell mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seeme to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himselfe to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*; *a* whom treacherously circumvented because he defended not, his father *Telamon* drove out of

Salamis

f Pollux loco citato.

g Contra Ctesiph. p 103.

b Lab. octav. 406.

i Demost. cont. Aristocr. 435.

k Demost. lib. *l* Rodolphus Gualterus *out of* Pollux *interpretsit*, Scalam terræ injicientem, *putting downe a ladder*; *the Greeke* καταβάθραν.

m Demosthen.

a Dictis cretensis de bello Trojano lib. 6. p. 145.

Salamis, unto which that he might be restored, he made appeale to this court. Which gives light to *b Aristotle* Ὅσα περὶ φόνου φόνου, ἐπὶ παιδὸς ἐπιφέρεται ὃς ἀθλίωσι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐρεαττῷ δικαστήριον. Iudicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for bringing back againe, such as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν ἐρεαττῷ. When the party prosequuting will not admit of reconciliation.

b Politicon 4. c. 17.

CAP. III. Sect. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυστον. Τείγωνον. Βατραχῶν. Φοινικῶν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. Μετίχου δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Διαιτηταί.

BEsides these Courts of bloud and causes criminall, there were for civill matters these, *Heliæa*, of which before for the excellencie of it I treated. Παράβυστον. Of this name there were two, παράβυστον μεῖζον καὶ μέσον, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters saies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachme, to which *c Aristotle* might be thought to looke speaking of Iudicatories, περὶ τῶν μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα, &c. And this was the meaning of *d Pausanius*, Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συμβόλοις εἰς αὐτό. Suing here for the least occasions. The *Undecim viri* were judges of the Court, which made *Petit* to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the δέκα δικαστήρια. It stood *e* ἐν ἀφανεῖ πόλεως in an obscure place of the city; whence ἐν παραβύστῳ in *f Demosthenes*, is by *Vlpian* expounded, privily, by a *Metaphor* taken from the situation of this Iudicatory, or πραγματειῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ κειμένων, καὶ κρύφα τῶν φανερῶν, from goods secretly hidden. Ἐν παραβύστῳ, αὐτὶ τοῦ λάθρα. Τρίγωνον, from the forme of it, which seemes to have beene triangular. Βατραχῶν, and Φοινικῶν, from the colours that were painted *g* ἐπὶ τῷ σφηκίσκῳ τῷ ἱστοῦντι upon the post of the entry, answerable to which there was a staffe given to the Iudges, that they

c Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.

d Atticis p. 27. l. 13.

e Pausanias ibidem.

f Pag. 450.

g Aristoteles Athen. R. apud Arist. Sch. p. 31.

they might know in what court to sit; For they presently went to that court which had the same colour with their staffe. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. From the statue of *Lycus* and *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolfe; where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every court; hence [b] Λύκου δικασταί, *Lyci decem*, for sycophants and such as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busie there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read [a] πάλαι ᾗ σωθήσεται οἱ σωδικάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understood ἐκεῖ ὄν or the like) at which they who bribed the Iudicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ἔνθα οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ δίκαι μιγνύμενοι σωεστρέφοντο. The [b] Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Iudicatory, where the Iudges divided their money for pay, three *oboli*, to each, a day. [c] Μητίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great Iudicatory; so named from *Metichus* an artificer, which built it. Here, who had passed thirty yeares of his age, and was well and nobly descended, and owed nothing to the publique treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted. Ἐν Ἀρδηττῷ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunall so called: neither did [d] *Meursius* thinke otherwise, when he translated these words of [e] *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὄμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστήριον. The Iudicatories were wont to take oath, or be sworne in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place near the river *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peere, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutiny, to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable, the Iudges took oath (I cannot justly say presently after their election) to give sentence according to the lawes; and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and justice, [f] *by Apollo Patrius, Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirmes, speaking of *Ardettus*, [g] Ἐν τούτῳ

b Zenobius.

a Lib. octavo, p. 406 *the place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the false Greeke.*
b Vesp. p. 417.
c Pollux l. 8.

d Athen. Attic. l. 2. c. 12. p. 124.
e Lib. 8. pag. 406.

f Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον, καὶ Δήμητρα, καὶ Διὰ Βασιλέα.
g Etym. mag. p. 147.

ἐπὶ τοῦ χωρίου ὤμνυον οἱ δικασταὶ ὁ δικαστικὸν ὅρκον. The Iudges in this place tooke their oath touching the diſcharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients ſuch as would preſently ſweare, were called [b] *Ardetti*, proverbially; as alſo thoſe who were perjurious and forſworne. [i] Καὶ Ἀρδήττης τὸν ἐπίορκος. Thus have we viewed the Atheniau Iudicatories, in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytaneum*, and *Phreattys*. For other matters, *Heliæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabyſtum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum*, & *ad Lycum*, where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to ſit, ſaies [k] *Poſſardus*; of whom; becauſe [l] *Emmius* numbers them among *Iudicia quatuor præcipua*, the foure chief Courts, I will now ſpeak. But of every Tribe were choſen [m] forty foure men, above threeſcore years old, who judged in ſeverall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refuſed to ſit according to his lot, he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Cittizen. [n] In former time there came no controverſie into the Courts, which had not firſt paſt through their hands (if it exceeded ten drachmes. Although [p] *Ulpian* tels us that they determined of petty buſineſſes) but that ſeemes to be, τὰ ἐν ἱεροῖς, holy matters, if *Pollux* be ſo to be read. For ſome things there were which came not under their juriſdiction. What ever the Διαιτηταὶ πρῶτοι judged, if the plaintiffe and defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might refeire it to the Senate (as appeares out of the [q] Argument of *Demoſth: Orat: contra Callippum* & [r] *Pollux*) at which removing of the ſuit they were to caſt their ſuffrages into a pot as they gave thē, on what ſide ſoever, for the plaintif by themſelves, and for the defendant by themſelves. [s] When they were appointed for the hearing of a caſe, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither, or but one was preſent, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the ſuit, and wrot the accuſation, with the fine which

[b] Caſaubon. Theoph. Char. p. 178.
[i] Etym. Mag. loco laudato.
[k] De Mag. Athen. p. 540.
[l] Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.
[m] Ulpian in Dem. p. 342.
[n] Pollux lib. 8. p. 407.
[o] Pollux ib.
[p] Demoſt. loco citato.
[q] Pag. 678.
[r] Lib. 8. p. 407.
[s] Vide Dem. Midian. &c. Ulpian in illum. p. 344.

which was required for dammages; they received as a fee from the plaintif one drachme, which they called *t* διάστιον, as also another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. This office was but annuall; And becauſe they would pervert juſtice, (as *u Demoſthenes* it witneſſe, * although they were not to judge before they had ſworne) give ſentence according to favour, envie, or for gaine, therefore *x* at the yeares end they made an account of their function upon the laſt day of *y Thargelion*, on which it was lawfull for any to ſpeak what he could object againſt them; and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Διαιτηταὶ Καπρωνὶ. There were other Διαιτηταὶ likewiſe, ſuch as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromiſſarii*, and we in Engliſh Arbitrators: whom two parties chooſe with a reſolution to ſtand to their determination; whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controverſie ſoever. Such by the *Attick* law any might requeſt, but with a neceſſity of abiding at their judgement. *z* For they could not appeale from them to any other court. To referre matters to their arbitrement, the Greekes terme διαιτᾶν διαίτην. And it will not be ſuperfluous here to relate the ſtory of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had choſen arbitrator in a differency after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the ſentence untill at laſt he died. Whence it grew to a proverbe, *a* Βοῦνας δικάζει, *Bunas judicat*, *Bunas* judgeth, of thoſe that defer to paſſe ſentence, and hold a caſe long in ſuſpence.

t Pollux. l. 8. c. 10. p. 408.

u Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.

* Idem p. 682. n. 41.

x Ulpian loco laudato 342.

y Perit. Miſcel. l. 8. p. 211.

z Vide legem apud Dem. pag. 344.

a Zenobius.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it followes that I ſpeak of their Termes of Law, Writs, and Accuſations. Theſe were of two ſorts, private and publique. The publique were properly termed Καπρεῖαι, ſaies *b Emmius*. Of

b Diſcrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.

Καπ-

Κατηγοριῶν, there were divers sorts. Γραφὴ, φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἀφήγησις, ἀιδεξαλιξία, ἐισαγγελία. Γραφὴ, saies [c] *Vlpian*, is ἐπὶ τῷ παρανόμων, of any trespasse against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Common-wealth are violated; & most properly, [d] quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a [e] Writ, or Right, in Latine *Actio* or *Formula*, as in [f] *Sueton. Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to serve a man with a Writ. [g] φάσις is a kind of an Information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for converting Tribute money to a mans own use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine which the parties convinced should undergoe, to bee paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the first part of the suffrages, hee was to lay downe the sixt part of the fine; which the [b] Orators call ἐπωβελίαν, from ὀβολὸς, because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In generall, all discoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις, which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth parr of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not so, if [i] *Pollux* say right. ἢ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀδικημάτων, εἰ δὲ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαίνειεν. The amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written downe a thousand Drachmes, & the Accuser had not the fift part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachme; if it exceeded, a thousand, foure hundred and one. Ἔνδειξις is a Writ against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet goe about to beare office, saies [k] *Vlpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The [l] Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, takes it for the accusing of any that did amisse in publique affaires; & the [m] Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπίων

[c] In Demost. pro Corona. p. 159.
[d] Orat. contrà Lept. p. 296.
[e] Sir T. Smith. Com. Wealth of Engl. l. 2. c. 10.
[f] In Vitellio.
[g] Pollux. l. 8. p. 387.
[b] Demost. contr. Cirel. p. 699. n. 6. cont. Everg. & Mnesib. pag. 646. n. 90. cont. Steph. 1. & 2. A. p. 622. n. 9. contra Onetora. p. 852. n. 19. cont. Aphob. 3. p. 508. n. 97.
[i] Onomast. l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.
[k] In Demosth. p. 391.
[l] In Equit. p. 303.
[m] Pag. 469.

for men disfranchiſed. But [n] *Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* againſt one taken in the maner; which the *Greeks* terme ἀπαυτοφώρῳ, [o] Schol. *Nazianz.* ἐπ' αὐτῇ κλοπῇ, *Pollux* expreſſes by ὁμολογημένῳ ἀδικήματι, when the offence is confeſſed. Becauſe men ſo apprehended were forced to condemne themſelves; no further evidence required then from their own mouthes. By which acknowledgement of their guiltineſſe, without greater triall, they received their doome [p] as among us when a priſoner arraigned, cõfeſſes his inditement to be true, no twelve men goe upon him, there reſteth but the Iudges ſentence of the paine of death. Whence grew our proverb, **Confeſſe and be hanged.** [q] *Pollux*, ὁμολογωμένῳ καὶ ἀδικήματι, καὶ κείσῃ, ἀλλὰ πωλεῖας δραμών. He that thus made his declaration, was to ſubſcribe his name, that if he were falſe, he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδοῦς ἐνδείξεως, The declaration was againſt men who were not preſent.

Ἀπαγωγὴ, is a carrying of a man before a Magiſtrate, being taken in the fact, whõ otherwiſe he was to accuſe by declaration in his abſence. By which a thouſand Drachmes were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγὴ; they brought not all offendors to the ſame Magiſtrats, but according as they were made Iudges of ſuch and ſuch offences; [r] ſometimes to the eleven, ſometimes to the [s] *Theſmothetæ*, ſometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique Treaſury, or bound for thoſe places or countries, where it was not permitted for him to goe, or one who had committed murther, if by reaſon of weakneſſe he durſt not venture to apprehend the perſon, and ἀπάγειν, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the houſe where ſuch a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers terme ἀφηγεῖσθαι. Ἀνδροληψίον, is when a fellon hath committed murther, & flies for ſuccour to any; ([t] as the Law ſuffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the ſlaine or others had required the malefactor to be delivered to thẽ, and the protector would not, it was lawfull to enter into his houſe, and carry away any three perſons, as ſome tranſlate it,

or

[n] Onom. lib. 8. p. 388.
[o] In Sticlit. 1.
[p] Sir T. Smith Commonw. of Eng. l. 2. c. 26. p. 281.
[q] Loco laud.
[r] Vlp. in Dem. p. 389.
[s] Idem. p. 407.
[t] Dem. p. 456.

or all save three, ἄχει τεῶν, as others, who were to answere for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies * *Vlpian*, is an accusation concerning great and publique matters, such as x elsewhere he speaks of, to wit, the dissolution of the *Democracie*; or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publique, if any went to Warres before they were sent, or betrayed a Garrison, Army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachmes, & lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was incontrolable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences, therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fift part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachmes, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth; & as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελικός. The Senate was *Iudge* (*Pollux* saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, & *Phalerius* 1500. Where the interpreter erres. For πρὸς πεντακοσίοις is 500 to them, as χίλιοι πρὸς, in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined; but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publique actions; private were these that follow, more properly called δίκαι.

Αἰκίας δ. is an Action against a man, who when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the y Greeks call ἄρξαι πληγῶν ἀδίκων. z The matter was heard before the Iudges; and though the Law ordained not any set summe of money for dammages, yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. a The reason why these actions were so strictly lookt into, was, lest any, not able to defend himselfe with his hands, should seek to revenge himselfe with stones, or other hurtfull weapon.

u Idem cont. Arist. p. 415.
* In Dem. p. 58
x Eund. p 453.
y Dem. p. 410. v. de Vlp. ibid. & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg. p. 637.
z Sch. Arist. Conc. p. 745.
a Dem. cont. Con. p. 690.

b Idem ibid.

b Καυηρείας δ. Somewhat neere our proviſo of giving the lye, leaſt by taunting and reproachfull words, men be provoked to blowes. Βλάβης δ. Is when any man receives dammage and hurt in eſtate by anorher man. *c* As to turne water into his ground, by which it is anoy'd; *d* To refuſe to pay mony where it is required, or to give it to another. *e* To promiſe to beare witneſſe in a ſuit, and then not be preſent, by which the caſe falls, and the like. Παρακαταθήκης δ. About pawnes, I ſuppoſe, which men that needed mony were wont to leave with the uſurers, *f* as cloathes, houſhold ſtuffe, &c. Or about money put to the Banck, which the exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of *g Demoſthenes*. The word imports both. Αποστασίου δ. Of divorce. *h* For they were wont to put away their Wives, in former time, upon diſcontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called ἀποστάσιον, & as *Lyſias* ἀποπέμψιν on the husbands ſide, and on the Wives ἀπόλειψιν: for he did as it were turne her away, ſhe was ſaid to forſake him. Κακώσεως δ. Of ill uſage of Parents, as not relieving them if they were poore. Of Wives againſt Husbands, of Pupils againſt Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner ſoever. Which if it were by day, was not capitall, but by night it was deadly. Χρέως δ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by *i* Law provided in *Athens* that none ſhould take too much uſe, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the beſt of his mony: which he termes *k* τόκιμον ἀργύριον Of uſury I ſhall ſpeake more in Cap. of money.

c Arg. Orat. Demoſt. contr. Calliclem.
d Demoſt. cont. Callip. p. 680. n. 20.
e Demoſt. cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 25.
f Sch. Ariſtoph. 137. E.
g Cont. Phor. p. 555. n. 7. 8.
h vide Cajetum Obſerv. l. 6. c. 15.

i This is reckoned among the Lawes which were made for private men.
Ulp. in Dem. n. 481.
k Vid Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 191. Char. περὶ Ἀπονίας.
l Polit. l. 2. c. 3.
m Dem. p. 651. n. 13.
n Ulp in Dem. p. 62 & 310.

Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained and would not ſtand to it. *l* *Ariſtotle*. δίκαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ συμβολαίων. Συνθήκης ἔγγραφος δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance: between man and man, or between Citty and Citty, concerning free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*, *Ariſt. Pol.* 3. c. 6. or the like. *m* Theſe συνθῆκαι were uſually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ. *n* a contention

tion about bearing office, in which they ſeek to have a time appointed, when a man ſhall enter into it. For the diſcharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπιδικασίας δ'. When parents dyed and left their daughters inheritrices, the kinred was wont to ſue each other, to make it appear who was neareſt joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin to whom an inheritance falls is called ἐπίδικος, that is, *Controverſa*. Μισθώσεως οἴκου δ'. About letting of houſes. (For *Herodotus* termes that ἐκδίδοσθαι which other Greek writers μισθοῦν, it is as well to ſet to hire, as to take to rent, ἐμισθοῦν and ἀπομισθοῦν, to let out. Which they often did for want of mony, which that they might obtaine the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we uſe to doe, **This Houſe is to be let.** Which cuſtome *Menedemus* in *p Terence* expreſſes *-- Inſcripſi ilico*, ÆDES MERCEDE) This Writ was properly againſt Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, ſuch as immediatly is before ſpoken) who having take the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that ſuch a houſe was to be let, he then put it out upon ſome pledge for ſecurity. But if the houſe were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was ſuffered to remain void of a Tenant, to the loſſe of the Pupill, then was it lawfull for any mā to ſue the Guardian in the *Archon's* court upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως οἴκου ? Ἐπιτρ. I have obſerved it to have been a cuſtome among the Ancients, when they perceived themſelves to draw neere to death, to call for ſome one, to whoſe care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beſeech them to have a tēder eye over them, and to provide for them what ſhould be moſt convenient: ſuch as *Oedipus* in *q Sophocles* entreats of *Theſeus* in the behalfe of his daughters. - Ὠίλον χέρα Δὸς μοι χειρὸς ὡς πίστιν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις, Τιμῆς τε πᾶσες τῷ δὲ χρατύνεσον Μίπτα φρονῶν τὰς δ' ἐκὼν, τελεῖν δ' ὅσ' ἂν Μέλλῃς σοφὸν δ' ξυμφέρον τ' αὐτὰς ἀεί. Not unlike is that of the *r Comœdian* under

o Pollux l. 3. c. 3. p. 136.

p Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

q Oed. Col. p. 314.

r Ter. Andr. Act. 1. Sc. 5.

the perſon of *Chryſis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

Acceſſi: vos ſemotæ: nos ſoli: incipit:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atq; ætatem vides:
Nec clam te eſt, quàm illi nunc utráq; inutiles,
Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tutandam rem ſient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perq; hujus ſolitudinem
Te obteſtor, ne abs te hanc ſegreges, non deſeras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;
Sive hæc te ſolùm ſemper fecit maximi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te iſti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona noſtra hæc tibi committo, & tua mando fidei.
Hanc mihi, IN MANVM DAT, *mors continuò ip-*
(ſam occupat.

But among the *Athenians* the uſe was to nominate in their Teſtaments and laſt Wills, whom they would have to bee Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they ſhould defraud the Orphans of their patrimony, or any part thereof, they were ſued with a Writ ἐπιτροπῆς, as [f] *Demoſthenes* did ſue his as ſoone as he came to age. But if the matter were not queſtioned within five years after the Pupill was admitted among the number of men, by the Law the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, Of a Maſter againſt a Servant ingrateſull for his manumiſſion, not doing his duty to his Maſter. Becauſe as [u] *Demoſthenes* witneſſes, it was the nature of ſervants, once made free, not only to be ingrateſull, but alſo to hate their Maſters moſt of all men, as thoſe who had been conſcious to their ſervitude. It was enacted therefore that whoſoever was convicted of ingratitude, ſhould againe be made a bondſlave. * *Valerius Maximus. Age, quid illud inſtitutum Athenarum quàm memorabile? quod convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur.* The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the Citty (which

[f] Plut. in vita ejus.

[t] Demoſth. p. 724. n. 22.

[u] Pag. 465.

* Lib. 2. c. 2. p. 670.

(which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them alſo ſlaves, which puniſhment they terme [x] *Maximam capitis diminutionem*. Δίκη. If any man put away his Wife he was to reſtore her portion againe, if he refuſed, he was ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὀβολοὺς τοκοφορεῖν, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *oboli* which the *Attickes* terme [y] εἰσπρακτὸν φοικὸς, the revenew of her dowrie. The Writ whereby he was ſued was Δίκη βλάβης for the repaiment. Ἔνοικίου, If any went to Law, as claiming Title to an houſe, he was firſt to ſerve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἐνοικίου, by which he demãds his rent for the time the defendant had the houſe: if it were for any parcell of land, there was a Writ καρπῶν given out, for the provent & fruit thereof; afterwards (in both caſes alike) they proceeded to an ἐσίας δίκη, in which they claimed right and title to the houſe and land. Although in all theſe trialls the defendant were caſt, yet could he keep juſtly either houſe or land; but if in a third triall, which they call ἐξώλης, he were overthrown; he was compelled to relinquiſh his poſſeſſion. This ἐξώλη alſo is a Writ againſt thoſe that would caſt an inhabitant out of his houſe, it being termed from ἐξώλειν, to throw forth. [a] It is alſo a Writ of Execution againſt any overthrowne in the Court, & fined a thouſand Drachmes, which at ſuch a day he was to pay; and if he laid it not downe upon the naile, there went forth a Writ ἐξώλης, to make enter upon the lands and poſſeſſions of him ſo caſt. It is alſo a Writ againſt any who wil not ſuffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publike to reap the fruit thereof. [illegible] no either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. Εἰς ἅπαντ' ἀπόδοσιν. When two had been partners in eſtates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refuſed, hee might be conſtrained to it by the Writ. Βεβαιώσεως. Becauſe the Market place amõg the Greeks was the fitteſt to cheat & circumvent in, as [b] *Anacharſis* was wont to ſay, therfore the *Athenians* enacted that none ſhould buy in the market place; (to which the *Scythian* wiſeman pointed likewiſe, ſaying, that they

[x] Iuſtin. Inſt. l. 1. T. 16.

[y] Demoſt. pa 733.

[z] Dem. pag. 655. n. 58.

[a] Vlp. in Dem. p. 340.

[b] Apud Laer: p 74.

they forbad to ſpeak falſe, and yet did ἐν δὲ καπηλείαις ἀδίκως) if any man had bargained for any thing, and another ſued and doubted of the right of it, *c* he might require the ſeller to confirme the lawfulneſſe of the thing ſold, and maintaine it againſt all controverſy, otherwiſe the ſeller was liable to βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the moſt part *Græcâ fide*, with ready mony; as *d* Scaliger & *e* Caſaubon truly interpret it, *Turnebus*, *Repræſentatâ pecuniâ*: yet ſometime gave they Earneſt onely to make the thing ſure, which the *Greeks* & *Latines* call *g* ἀρραβὼν, from the *h* *Hebrew* ערבון. This ſeems to me to have been the hundreth part of the mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as *i* Stobæus out of *Theophraſtus*. Where you may read likewiſe that it was the cuſtome, when any thing was to be ſold, to bring a note thereof to the Magiſtrate ſome threeſcore daies before. Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάσασιν, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a ſuit in Law, by *k* *Pollux* his words I may conjecture, goods or mony privily taken away. Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. When any ſhould offer to take another mans ſervant, and make him free againſt the will of the Maſter, which the Greeks terme *l* μὴ δικαίως ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελόμενα.

Ἀμφισβήτησις is a ſuit about neerneſſe of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without iſſue of his own body. Παραλαβολὴ, When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as neere of blood; or upon ſome other conditions: from παραλαμβάνειν; becauſe he laid downe the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were caſt in Law, he was to pay, if the cauſe were private, ſaies *m* *Budæus*: but publique, the fift. *n* Διαδικασία. When any ſhall proteſt that an inheritance doth hang in controverſy, and is ὀρφανὸς, as a true heire being ſtill alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Leochares*. Ἐπίσκηψις. When any ſhall try to falſifie the διαδικασία. Ἀντιγραφὴ. When men went to Law about kindred, as to prove themſelves of ſuch and ſuch houſes.

c Pollux lib. 8. c. 6 p. 385.

d In Auſon. Lect. l. 2. c. 6.
e In Theoph. Char. p. 312.
f Adverſariorum l. 4. c. 13.
g Don. Quod prius datur, ut reliquum reddatur. in Ter: Heaut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.
h Vide Daſq. in Baſil. Sel.
i Sermone 42.
k Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 6. p. 384.
l Demoſth. p. 718. n. 29.
m Pand. Prior. p. 100.
n Dem. p. 620. n. 78.

Here followeth the termes promiſcuous, private and publique whichare publique and lawfull for any to proſequute: ſee Pollux, p. 386.

Ἀπροσαίτου.

Ἀπροστασίου γρ. All ſtrangers in Athens were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my moſt worthy Schoolemaſter the glory of his time ° Mr *Mathew Buſt* hath obſerved, whom for honours ſake I name) or elſe they might be queſtioned, and if they were convicted their goods were ſold and put into the Citty Treaſury. Ἀχαειρία of ingratitude againſt thoſe who ſhewed not themſelves thankfull to thoſe who had well deſerved of them. Ξενίας the ſame with ἀπροσδόσιον, when any will reckon himſelfe among the number of Cittizens who had never been made free, by which he purchaſed impriſonment untill ſuch times as there was a Court kept, and then he was ſold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye witneſſe of a matter. Ἐκμαρτυρία, When another witneſſes from the report of him that ſaw it. Ψευδομαρτύριον fælſewitneſſe, which to proſecute in Law they terme ὀπτικὴν ψευδομαρτύριον. Λειποματρύριον, when one was eyewitneſſe & promiſed to teſtify, yet would not appear at the appointed time; which they were wont to compell them to doe, which they call κλητῆναι, after which citatiõ the party was to be at court, or forſwear that he ſaw not the matter, or was not preſent; otherwiſe he was to pay a thouſand *Drachmes*, in which ſumme to be fined the *Attickæ* Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλητοῦσθαι. Δώρων γραφὴ, When the Judges were corrupted with bribes. Δίκαι againſt thoſe that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας of a man convinced of idleneſſe, which once taken *Draco* puniſhed the delinquent with loſſe of the Citty priviledges, *Solon* not unleſſe he were thrice delinquent. Λιποναυτίου, When any of the marriners ran away from their ſhips. Ἀναμαχίου, When the Marriners that ſtaied in the ſhips would not fight, if occaſion required. Ψευδεγγραφῆς when any would falſely accuſe, there was likewiſe againſt them a writ ἐπιβουλεύσεως. Ψευδκλητείας Againſt thoſe that unjuſtly cite to the Court. Δωροξενίας when any is accuſed of encroaching into the nnmber of Cittizens, and gives gifts to eſcape free. Παραγράμμου when

° In Epiſt. Dedic. ſuo Euchaitenſi præfixa ad Richar. Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum.

any was accuſed of making a decree or Law contrary to former ſtatutes. This accuſatiõ was called παρανομία, becauſe the accuſer ſwore that it was againſt the Lawes or unjuſt or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. δοκιμασία was an examination of the Magiſtrates whether they were fit to governe or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Luſt and incontinency, whether they had not ſpent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blameable, whereupon they were diſcarded the priviledges of the Citty, and not ſuffered to plead or ſpeake publikely. Ευθυνὴ An account of publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and diſpatching Ambaſſages, made to the Tenne *Logiſtæ* (for the breach of which went out a Writ Λογὶου λόγον δόσεως Rationem reddere) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Προβολὴ an accuſation againſt thoſe who are ill affected toward the Commonwealth, made by the decree of the people, and ſuch as are wellwillers to the ſtate. Προβολαὶ likewiſe are accuſations againſt men injurious ξυβείσαντας, [p] & ſuch as are delinquent againſt their feſtivalls, as the oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Midias*. Προμοσία, An oath which the accuſer took that he would juſtly accuſe [q] Αντωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Εξωμοσία, an oath of Ambaſſadors or men choſen for ſtate ſervice, that by reaſon of ſicknes they cannot give attẽdance. They may doe it by a proxie if they pleaſe. It is likewiſe the oath of one called to witneſſe, wherein he ſwears that he knowes nothing of the buſineſſe. Απωμοσία When others ſhall ſwear that pretended weakneſſe was only a ſhift to put off the burthẽ of publique office which the ſtate laid on them. Υπωμοσία an accuſation of a Law or decree unprofitable, againſt the motioner. as above ſaid. Παραγραφὴ & παραγνωρισμὸς when a man ſhall object a caſe not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be ſuch and ſuch, and not as it is *ex. gr.* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λιποταξίου, and I accuſe him of.

[p] Lib. Arg. in Mediauam.

[q] Vlpian in Dem. 216.

of leaving his ranck, to wit ἀποταξις, or obſeſſion of the time paſt within which ſpace the ſuit was to be commenced, or that it ſhould be handled in ſuch a Court and not in ſuch, as wilfull murther in *Areopagus* not *Palladium*, by which evaſion if the caſe fell it was termed ἄγραπτος. Αντιγραφὴ, when he that is ſued puts in a bill againſt the plaintif in like manner. But if the defendant (I call αὐτιγραφάμενον ſo) were caſt he payed ἐπωβελίαν. [r] Μὴ ἔσα, when a man is ſummoned to anſwer before the Arbitri a controverſy, if he ſwear that he is ſick or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was caſt in ἐρήμῳ *Eremodicio*, as if he ſcorned to come or were obſtinate, he ought within tenne daies to ſue out μὴ ἔσαν, wherein he reproved the ſentence and made it of no effect ſo as it came to its firſt ſtate againe. But if he could not obtaine a μὴ ἔσα, having before ſworn that he would ſtād to the award of the Judges, their determination ſtood in full ſtrength & power, and he was conſtrained to pay a thouſand drachmes, as [s] *Vlpian* which was the mulct appointed by the law, for the diſcharge whereof he put in good ſecurity. Αντιλαγχάνειν δίκῃ, When any was abſent from the Court or heard not his name called by the Crier to anſwer thereunto he was fined, as conſcious of Eremodicium, and if within the ſpace of two Moneths he did not renew the ſuit (which is ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκῃ) he was ſure to pay the fine. Ενεσκηψασθαι, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited & publiquely ſold ſomewhat as debt to him, or ſay that part belongs to him, the ſtate would narrowly ſearch into it, which thing they terme ἐνεσκήμματα. Πεῦκλησις is a citing of one before the *Archon* in controverſy about inheritance, or a Virgin left inheritrix. Now if the plaintif did not warne the defendant ἢ ὅτι δεδικασμένον, the ſuit died, and ſuch actions are called ἀπεύκλητοι δίκαι. [t] Πεύκλησις is as letting a caſe fall or diſſolving it upon ſome witneſſe, oath, confeſſion extorted by torments, and the like. Εφεσις is an appeal from one court to

[r] Vlpian in Dem. 343.

[s] In Dem. p. 340.

[t] Dem. p. 513.

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to ſome forrainers in another country. Ἀτίμητος δίκη when there is no more fine laid upon a man then what his adverſary did ἐπιγράψαι write downe at the lower end of his inditement: of which cuſtome ſomewhat hath before been ſpoken. Βοὸς κλοπῆς, Againſt ſuch as ſtole Oxe dung out of their neighbours lāds; whence of thoſe that are pnt in the court for triviall matters the proverb [u] Βοὸς κλοπὴ. Ἀσεβείας of impiety againſt their Gods, as Ariſtotle for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenſes*, which he engraved on a ſtatue at *Delphos*. For revealing myſteries, or imitating them as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death; as on the cōtrary the accuſer if he got not the better. Προδοσίας, of being falſe to the ſtate, the puniſhment was death, and after that, that they ſhould be caſt out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * Ἀγωγίμου, If any owed to the Citty Treaſury, and his name were regiſtred, and before the diſcharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they ſued him before the *Theſmotheta* ἀμαρτίου, but if his name were never entred, he was proſequted, by an ἔνδειξις, Μεταλλικαὶ proper only to ſuch as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stanneries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devon-ſhire* her ſiſter. [x] Lyable to this Court were they who ſhould thruſt any man from his work, who ſhould dig within another mans liberties, who ſhould bring weapons thither, I ſuppoſe to take away Mineralls by violence, who ſhould kindle any fire in the Mines &c. Who ſhould offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to doe was death, as [y] *Plutarch* tells us. There was likewiſe ἀγωγὴ μεταλλικὴ againſt the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work were to acquaint the overſeers appointed for that end by the people, that the foure and twentieth part of the new coine might come to the publique Treaſury. Now if any preſumed

[u] Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 328. Laertius in vitâ.

* Dem. cont. Theocr. pag. 7. 13. n. 76. 77.

[x] Dem. con. Pantæ. p. 567. n. 51, 52.

[y] In vitis Decem. Rhet. p. 453.

med to work who had not made it known to the officers it was lawfull for any to accuſe him ἀγεγράφθαι μὴ δεῖν. Ἀφορμῆς ſ. About mony put out to the mony changers. z For ἀφορμὴ among the *Atticks* is the ſame that εὐδόκη in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Iure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they uſed ἀφορμὴ for meanes, and ſuſtenance a προβολὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικάσας & καταδικασάμενος have this difference, that b καταδικάσας is the Judge that gives ſentence, καταδικασάμενος is he that put in the controverſy, to be the meanes that the ſentence paſt againſt the defendant. c Ἄφεσις is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to diſcharge all and therefore deſires the people that a part thereof might be remitted.

z Argum. Pharm. Orat. P. 554.

a Sch. Eurip. Med. p. 368.
b Vlpian in Med. p. 368.
c Ideus in Dem. p. 450.

LIB.

LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus & Amatoriis.

CAP. I.

De Venere, & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens*, had their habitation too neer the Sea, to keep their affections farre from her that roſe of the *Foame*. For that they were devoted to the ſervice of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and the over-favourable name of ἑταίρα will ſufficiently teſtify. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus* Οὐρανία (a *ſi diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muſes, b or the play with the ball, then her: and the other for *Venus* Πάνδημος. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Κάλλος ἐφήμιον, & Κάλλος πάνδημον, Λέγω γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω καὶ ἀνδρώπους κάλλη πανδαπὰ, τὸ μὲ ἐφήμιον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὥσπερ τὰ κάλλη αἱ χορηγοὶ ἄγουσι. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲ ἐφήμιον ἅχθηται τῇ ψυχῇ κάλλη δοξάμενον, καὶ ζητεῖ πρὸς ἡφαιστον ταχὺ φθάρτ. Τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἅρπη κάτω, καὶ ἐγχειρίζει σὺν τοῖς σώμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But, *à diuturnitate*, the Sacrifices of the firſt Temple, were Ἀγνότερα, with a little more ſtate and chaſtity then became her; but thoſe

a *Pauſanias.*

b ἐφήμερα, a play ſo called.

thoſe of the laſt, ῥᾳδιυργότερας, as *eaſy* and as wicked as her ſelfe: For every farthing-ſtrumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment proſtitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμεικὸς, [c] or the Σκίρον, thoſe Καπηλεῖα Ἀφρο- δίσια, or any other of the places abuſed to luſt. Nay thoſe *ſinkes* [d] beſides *places* for the purpoſe, they had *garments* al- ſo for the purpoſe, and flowers on the Garments too, Τὰ Ἀνθινὰ, *floridas veſtes*, apparell fit for ſuch *Flora's* and the *Roſes* * ſo eaſily gathered. The Rites of her ſervice the *Athenians* are ſaid to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Aſſyrians*. *Vides penes Authorem* [e] *ſit*. The faſhion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (viz.) with a head, and all like a man as farre downe as the girdle, and all the reſt like a woman: (to ſhew ſhee had a place in the *Ditches* [f] too as well as in the *Sinkes* and patroniz'd luſt to either of the Sexes,) Inſo- much, that many have been ſcrupulous whether they ſhould call her *Deum* or *Deam*. for there is one that ſaies

------ *Pollentemq́; Deum venerem.* Which *Macrobius* himſelfe commends for the beſt, and therefore in *Virgill Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reades

Diſcedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hoſtes
Expedior ----- and not *Deâ*, and ſo *Ariſtophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, for his Beards ſake, (tis likely.) But, now this makes more worke, and therefore (to plaiſter two walls with one pot-full of plaiſtring) they made it a cuſtome, *ei ſacrificium facere viros cum veſte muliebri, Mulieres cum virili. Quod eadem & Mas, & Fœmina æſtimaretur*, (ſo ſaies *Philochorus* cited by *Macrobius*) If it be ſo, you may ſay *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you pleaſe: I read of no ſuch thing concerning *Minerva*, only the [g] Poet (becauſe ſhe was ſuch a *Virago*) honours the Man-hood of the Goddeſſe, with a πὸτ Διὸς as *Theocritus* [h] does *Hecate*, with ἀ Διὸς ἐν κεφαλᾷ. Nor is it enough, that the Mother is thus religiouſly woo'd, and adored, but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too

* τὰ ῥόδα.

[c] *Pauſanias.*

[d] *Cloacæ.*

[e] *Cat. Rhod.*

[f] *Inter Socraticos nutiſſima foſſa cinædos* Juven. Sat. 2.

[g] *Ariſtophanes* Act. 5. ſc. 2.

[h] in φαρμακ. circ. fin.

too, And if *Her* due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be leſſe then a *Calfe*.

Πέζω πόρτιν ἔρωτι χαὐτὴν βοῦν Ἀφροδίτᾳ.

ſaies *Theocritus*, and *Amori Litari* is common in *Apuleius*. Me thinkes he might have been content to ſit ſtill in his *Mothers* Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxis* and crown'd with Flowers) & have ſoard * with his wings no higher. But the Temples of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως, in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Ψίθυρος, doe more then *whiſper* what cauſe he had to be ſo proud, and how amorous the People has been.

* *Alatus.*

CAP. II.

De Pæderaſtiâ.

TO omit the Τριβάδας, and the Abomination of the *Women* one with another, changing παρὰ φύσιν παρὰ φύσιν; give me leave to ſpeak a little of their Παιδερασταὶ, or παιδόπται, and the Ἀφροσύνη [k] practiſed by the *Men* upon their own Sexe. The firſt that ever taught

------ *Amorem*
In teneros transferre Mares. - ----

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholler of his the *Roman* was *Lippis & Tonſoribus notum*, and for the Greekes, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Perſians* deriv'd the infection from them: which I am apt enough to believe, when I read thoſe words of *Cornelius Nepos* [l] *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis, quam plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and thoſe concerning *Alcibiades* in another, *Ineunte Adoleſcentiâ amatus eſt à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himſelfe afterward was more then *Pathicus* in that *double-Cappa-rougery* as well as [m] *Pauſanias* or [n] *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* * Sectaries. The *Cretians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Ariſtotle* ſay true, made a Law for a toletation of it. The [o] *Megarenſes* had their

i *Ep. ad Rom. 1. v. 26.*
k *Ibid. v. 27.*
l *Initio lib. de Excell. Imp.*
m *Aemil. Prob.*
n *Plato in Symp.*
* *Socratici κίναιδοι.*
o *Athenæus.*

Kiſſing-matches, when he that could kiſſe ſweeteſt was led away in pompe *Corollis onuſtus*. only thus much is ſaid in commendation of the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, that they confined the Luſt to the perſon of a ſlave. Nay [p] *Ælian* (who makes bold to *vary* from other authors in ſeverall relations) goes farther, and ſaies, Σπαρτιάτης γὰρ ἔρως Αἰσχὺν οὐκ ὄιδεν. but how true that is I know not, I am ſure their τὰ παιδικὰ, and οἱ παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι tell in *plain ſong* what they loved: though I confeſſe, I have found no ſuch feats among them, as that of [q] *Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refuſing to ſubmit. one word more and I have done. He that was inſpired with ſuch a love as this, (as if they had uſed the trick of *Pyramus* [r] and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of εἰσπνηλᾶς, or εἴσπνηλος, or rather εἰσπνήλης as *Callimachus* hath it.

[p] L. 3. *Var. Hiſt.* c. 12.

[q] *Lycoph.*

[r] *Ina vices fuerat captatus anhelitus orii.*

Μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνήλης ἑταίρῃ Κύρος ἴοι.

By which word (ſaith the *Etymologicall Dictionary*) is denoted, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, (or rather ἐρῶντος) εἰσπνεόμενος. one *inſpired*, ſhall I ſay, or *belov'd*, for ſo ſignifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy ſo *perdite* as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we ſay) or *ſpit in his mouth*, or give him *Manſum ex ore*, take the Authors own word for't in the place above quoted. Ἄυπνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ἐρασταὶ εἰσπνεῖν αὐτούς. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ ὄντων ἡ φωνὴ, ἐρᾷν μὲν λέγουσα, and ſo *Heſychius* ſaies of ἐμπνεῖν too. ἐμπνεῖ μοι, ἐρᾷ μου, πάθη με. This was all (as he ſaies) or (as I ſay) it ſhould) it ſhould have been all, for a man may love his houſe well enough, though he doe not ride upon the ridge. However, I muſt confeſſe they had ſo much care ſtill of the *Common-wealth*, notwithſtanding their *private* pleaſures, as not to give a voyce to one whom they knew to be guilty of ſo much *Mollities*, as to ſcratch his head with one finger. Inſomuch that if a man had ſued for an Office, to give a teſtimony of his virtue, and Manlike diſpoſition, he was faine to lift up his Armes, and ſhew his haire in his Arme-pits.

----- Χειροτονίαν

Ἐξωμισάσαις τ' ὑπερον βραχίονα, saies *Aristophanes* and good reason for this practice, for,

Duræ per brachia setæ
Promittunt arrorem animum ----- saies *Persius*,

[r] *Apud Aristoph.* and therefore, the Woman [r] that desired to be taken for a Man, thought this the best Argument she could use

----- Πρῶτον μὲν γ' ἔχω τὰς μασχάλας
Λοχμῆς διαστρόφους.

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to seeme as they were, effeminate, used the same tricks, which the *Romans* are said to have used (for which service they had their ἀλωπαικιστὰς, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their haire and be as smooth as they could.

But I have said too much of so odious a *Love as should not indeed be named amongst us.* I will now proceed to speake of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in [t] *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis sexuum diversitatem generato amore sociavit*, as *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

[t] *Achill. Tat. lib. 2.*
[u] *Metam. l. 11.*

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen they first *listed* themselves into the service (for, *Militat omnis Amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemne businesse, as to be formally initiated, like so many Priests.

Ἄγε δὴ ἡμᾶς Ἀφροδίτης μυσαγωγήσῃ. saies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe* * Ἐπὶ σῇ βίβλῳ καταμυήσῃ τὸν Ἔρωτα, saies *Isx menias* to his Mistresse, alluding (it may be) to such Bookes as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, *Litteris ignorabilibus* [z] *prænotatos*.

[*] *Achill. l. 2.*
[x] *Eustath. l. 5.*
[y] *Loco ante laudato.*
[z] *Hieroglyphicis.*

Well it seemes *Venus* had her μυσήρια too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Priests though they were not under an enjoyned silence, as the others were, yet the greatest part of their tatling was

was under the Roſe.

Conſcius omnis abeſt Nutu ſignifiq; [a] *loquuntur.*

And therefore Cupid had not the name of a *Whiſperer* for nothing, ſeeing ſpeaking thorow the teeth, and *whiſpering* thorow the walls (like *Pyramus* [b] and *Thisbe*) was ſo commonly uſed by his followers. Such as that ὑπαίθριος βοὴ in *Euripides*, *ſuccrotilla vocula, fœminina fabulare* [c] *ſuccrotilla vocula*, ſaies one, παρατιθεμένη τὸ παιδίον χαλεπῶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν φέρεται, [d] ſaies another of *Iphene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by ſtealth, for what are all their pleaſures but *furta*? What is Cupid [e] but a *Thiefe*. No wonder then if lovers uſed to worſhip the Moone, and the Night be the blind boyes holy-day, [f] Κλεπτῶν γὰρ ἡ Νὺξ, ſaies one (like that of the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus* δεῖ γὰρ κλεπτομένοις ἔρωτι σηῶς, καὶ ψυχὸς) for the greateſt part of their imployments were not able to look upon the Sunne. Yet *Pindar* (as I take it) ſaies the cuſtome was, for the man to worſhip the Sunn, and the Woman the Moon, it may be the Man's ayme [g] was to have the Suns help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans, the Moons in bringing her [h] children to light.

Beſides theſe, Θεὸς δὲ Πὰν ἐρωτικὸς [i] *Pan* had his worſhip too. But for any thing I can perceive (though ſome of them it may be were of *Theocritus* his mind

----- Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς εἶδε δικάζειν) whatſoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looſeneſſe, to ſweare and forſweare as faſt as they liſted, whiles *Jupiter* ſtood by and laught --- *Perjuria ridet amantum.*

Inſomuch that Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος became but a proverb at laſt, as being accounted ἐκ ὑποκρίσεως, nay if *Plato* (in *Ephebo*) ſay truth, Ἐν ᾗ νῦν αἱ ᾗ ἀεὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίσια, καὶ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν συγγνώμην ἔλαχε παρὰ θεῶν, the Gods gave them leave as having done *hæc eadem Juvenes, and none can play the* [k] *knave better then an Abbot that hath been a Monke.*

[a] *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

[b] *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

[c] *Titinnius.*

[d] *Euſtath.*

[e] *Theocritus* ſaies he ſtole honicombs. *Id. 20.*

[f] *Eurip.*

[g] *Venerem cũ Marte deprehendit è Ovid Met lib. 4. fab 6.*

[h] *Luna pariter adeſt.*

[i] *Longus in Paſtoral. l. 2.*

[k] French proverb.

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Indiciis.

NOw to know whether such an one were in Love or not, (though they say Love and the Cough can never be hid) at the keeping of a feast, they took speciall notice of the untying of his Garland (as we use to doe of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soone of the reason, for [l] *Athenæus* saies it had been a riddle a thousand years before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, διὰ τὴν ἐστεφανωμένων ἐὰν λύσῃ σέφανος. ἐρᾶν λέγουσι), and he himselfe hath served up no lesse then eight other reasons, but I know never a one better then another to give you a taste. Another signe that they were in Love, was the tinkling of the Eare, whence that of *Sappho* βομβεῖσι δ' ἀκοαὶ μου, and *Catullus*, ----- *Sonitu suopte*

Tintinant aures. ----- To know whether the party lov'd did love againe, they took a leafe (whether of *Poppie*, or what it was I know not) they called it πλεύριλον *quasi* φιλέριλον, ἀπὸ τῦ φιλῶσαι ἢ φιλίαν) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumbe of the left hand (as our Children use to doe with ns) struck it with the right, if it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not they gave a sigh, out alas!

Οὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέφιλον ποτὶ μαστόμενον πλατάγησεν. saies *Theocritus Idyll.*3. So [m] at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long stick in the ground, with another upon it (in the fashion of the crosse beame of a Ballance) with a paire of Scales hanging to it, under the scales stood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brasse, gilded and called by the name of Μάνης ([n] once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same Woman as I think) & would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his phiale

l *Lib. 15. Deipnos.*

m *Aristoph. Schol. in Pace.*

n *Id. in Avibus.*

phiale of braſſe (τὸν κότταβον) and to ſtand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he liſted, with a ſudden turne of the hand (ἀγχύλῳ they call it, and thence Κότταβοι ἀγχύλητοι) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown they call'd κατάγλω from λάταξ, the *klat* or the ſound that it gave in the fall. Now he that could doe this ſo well, as to make his ſcale ſinke, and ſtrike the image hardeſt on the head (εἰ μὲ χυθῆ τὸ ὕσω, ſo that ſome of the Wine leapt out upon him ſaith the Scholiaſt) preſumed preſently upon the love of his Miſtreſſe, and had his Κοττάβιον or his Cake (the uſuall reward of victory in moſt of their playes) for his labour, ſometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good ſlaſh it was counted as luckie for a Lover as the *crack of the Leafe*. Thus to drinke and play they called Κοτταβίζειν (as Κοττάβος was the name of the cup and the play too) and ſeldome a drinking match without it.

Ἐστὶν δ' Κοτταβίζειν
Συβαϊζειν
Ἰὰ ἰὰ κακοχάιται.

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* gamball they are aſhamed to own themſelves, and therefore turne it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might ſpeake more of Κοττάβος, were it either fitter for the preſent diſcourſe, or not ſpoken of ſo largely, and by ſo many as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus* and others already: let it ſuffice only to mind you of the folly ſo uſuall among Lovers in thoſe times, according to that of *Callimachus*

Πολλοὶ δ' φιλέοντες ἀκόντητον ἦκαν ὀϊστὸν
Οἰνοπότῃ Σικελὰς ὀκ κυλίκων λάταγας.

CAP. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis amatoriis.

BUT what if ſhee could not be wonne over by faire meanes? was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but firſt they muſt get ſomething or other of her's into their poſſeſſion, and worke upon that, according to the nurſes adviſe to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*.

Euripides Hipp. v. 512.

Δεῖ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνης δή τι τῶν πρὸς μάτων
Σημεῖον, ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πέπλων ὕπο
Λαβεῖν, σωφρόνως τ' ἐκ δυοῖν μιᾶι χάριν.

And if they could come to the ſight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a faſcination, ὀφθαλμόν τινά βάσκανον ἀνεσπάσατο, he threw a *ſheepes eye* at her (ſaith * *Heliodorus*) The proverb that *Love comes in at the Window and goes out at the Dore*, may not abſurdly be underſtood of the eyes, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls θύρας τῆς ψυχῆς, the Doores of the Soul, which ſeem to be the way & the paſſage by which the two loves goe in and out, ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἔρωτος, ſaith *Mulæus*, or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart. Ὀφθαλμὸς αἰτία τὸν ἔρωτα, ſaith * *Euſtathius*: and ſo † *Lucian* makes the ſight the firſt ſtep in *Cupid's* ladder of love. To trie therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would goe to the houſe where ſhe liv'd, and the faſhion being for the Daughter οἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the ſtrangers (as *Sosthenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Iſmenias*) after the old folke had drunke, when it came to their Miſtreſſes to drink to them, they obſerved at what part of the cup ſhe dranke, to be ſure to drinke at the ſame, according to that of the * Poet

* *Lib. 4.*

* *Lib. 3.* † *in* ἔρωτες.

* *Ovidde Arte Am. lib. 1.*

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Pocula, quodq; bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forſooth

forſooth they thus to have a kiſſe *mediatè* at the ſecond hand wafted over in the cup καταπέμψαι τὸ φίλημα, *Ariſtænetus* calls it, not to kiſſe the cup, but to cup the kiſſe.

Nam tranſmiſſa tuis ad me fert ſuavia labris
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* tranſlating that verſe

Πορπάξ δ' ἀμοιβαῖον ἔδωκε φίλημα. Such a kiſſe they uſed to call ἀποστολιμαῖον φίλημα, (*miſſivum oſculum*, or a Kiſſe conveyed in a cup, like words in a *Letter*) as both *Achilles* and *Euſtathius* doe. And by this time they have ſeen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will trie what they can doe with the Tongue, by inchanting ſongs and tales, or by the Hand with gifts and Philtres ἐκ δὲ πολλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἐπῳδῶν, καὶ ἴυγγων, ſaies *Xenophon*. Ἴυγξ more eſpecially is the name of a Bird, (whether it be *torquilla* or *regulus*, or *paſſerculus* the moſt likely becauſe of its ſalacity) whoſe tongue they made uſe of to ſuch purpoſes, putting it under the knap of her ring with the paring of her nailes.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for ſuch a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Eccho* ſaies *Callimachus*) becauſe ſhe bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the ſame name, and a making very ſutable to her former condition, and the uſes for which ſhe ſerves. For (according to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the taile. and puniſhed ſhe is enough for her roguery, for (beſides that way I told you of before) ſome times they ty'd her ἐπὶ τροχοῦ ἴυγξ to a wheele (as I think) and chanted a charme as they whirled it round, ſometimes (at leaſt the entralls) to a ἴυγξ of wax, cauſing both together to conſume in the fire. But what will you ſay, if all this while it be nothing but an inſtrument pleaſantly tun'd and playd? as ſome ſay it is, and that it is therefore commonly uſed

used for any pleasant thing, or inticement Ἴυγγι ἕλκομαι ἢ πορ
* *Nem. Od.* 4. saies * *Pindar*, or any other Magicall Love toy, such as *Vn-*
vid. *Theoc.* *Pharmaceutr.* & *Aristophan.* *Lusistrate prope finem.* *gues* muscles, wreathed fillets, hayre, and bands of twisted wooll, and diverse other gamballs of the same brann, according to that which I have seen of *Lælius* an ancient *Poet.*

Trochisci, Vngues, tæniæ
Aureæ, Ilices bitortilæ.

* not στερ- With no stronger chaines then those of twisted wool(*πλεκ-
τὸν ἔριον * *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturne* reported to have been
* Περὶ πο- bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him downe. I can rather
ταμ. believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes* woollen *feet*, as the proverb saies they had, then that any of them should have *Laneas pedicas*, wollen *fetters*. And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, can be content to lye fast in those bands all the year long, 'till the Moneth *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therefore calls *Saturni compedem exolutum:* I referre you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn. lib.* 1. *c.* 8. Though I believe they intended no other then a Magicall tye, upon the affection of the party, Yet they seem to have made use of *wooll*, rather then any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters; for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of wooll, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules* or a *True-lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Geniall-bed*. Then the doores of the Bride-house, and the posts of the doores, were bound about with wollen fillettings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this πλεκτὸν ἔριον I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that

* *Theocrit.* *Pharmaceu.* * Στίλαν τὰν καλίβαν φοινικίῳ ἐὸς ἀώτῳ

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way. but thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the Woemen in these times) that what ever was done to the things which they used

uſed they imprecated the ſame, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to repreſent. Thus [a] *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Iuno* tyed up [b] *Alcmæna's* womb *Digitis inter ſe pectine junctis*. I know not how.

Thus [c] *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his Love would have ſcattered his bones in the meale, burnt his fleſh in the Bay, melted him away in the waxe, or have had him tumble to her doore in the Brazen Bowle, and have kill'd him with kindneſſe. Every one of which practiſes was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moone* for ſucceſſe, as things that were fit to be done neither by *day* nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they uſed to make a man to love them, ſuch as [d] *Philoſtratus* ſpeakes of in his *Epiſtles*, τὸ δὲ φυλίον καὶ ὁ κηρὸς, καὶ τὸ παρατήνιον, καὶ οἱ ἐπιῤῥῶμοι ὄφεις, καὶ αἱ χρυσαῖ πέδαι, καὶ Θᾶλλος, καὶ Ἀριζηλόεις, καὶ Λᾶϊς & φάρμακα. The κηρὸς may be thought to be *Ceruſſa*. Τὸ παρατήνιον, otherwiſe παράπηγον, or ταραντινίδιον, *Multicia* or *Bombycina*, a kind of [e] διαφανὲς ἔνδυμα, or a garment that hid the body ſo that it might be ſeen, *lucet ſic per Bombycina corpus*, ſaies [f] *Martiall*, ſuch Women uſed it

> [g] *Quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade quarum*
> *Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.*

It had the name ἀπὸ τῆς Ταραντίνων χρήσεως καὶ ὑφῆς ſaith [h] *Pollux*. Ἐπωμίδες ὄφεις, are like to be σαῦραι *Lacertæ*, ſuch as ſhee in *Theocritus* would have uſed in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφεις worne about the wriſts πρὸ καρπῶν: and the golden fetters I ſuppoſe to be ſtronger then woollen. but beſides all theſe there was μηλοσόλον, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple *Cydonium malum* I meane reported to grow in the Garden of *Venus*, and us'd at weddings (as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter. Thus when *Cydippe* was ſitting in the Temple of [i] *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple with this Inſcription Μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι, or if you had rather have the Latin

Juro tibi ſane per myſtica ſacra Dianæ,

[a] Ovid. Met. lib. 8. fab. 4.
[b] Ovid. Met. lib. 9 fab. 5.
[c] Theocrit. Pharmac.
[d] Lib. 3. E. 68.
[e] Pollux.
[f] Lib. 8. Epig. 61.
[g] Iuvenal Sat. 6.
[h] Lib 7. c. 17. Petulans, malitiumq; Tarentum.
[i] Ariſtæn. lib. 1. Ep. 10.

Me tibi venturam comitem ſponſamq́; futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhe *tooke*, when ſhe did but *read* the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes threw back Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples: nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it, it was enough, which made [k] *Philenis* being jealous of her liſter *Thelxinoe* complaine of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The [l] Woemen of *Theſſalie* are eſpecially noted for cunning Woemen at this worke, being able (as he ſaies) μαγ̃ὰ ἔρ᾽ ὄπωτ᾽, ὥστε μὴ μόνον εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὸν ἀνθρωπον ἀποκλίνειν γυναῖκα &c. And ſo are the Woemen of *Egypt* (I think the ſexe hath ſtill had the Monopolie of Magick) however the *Egyptian* [m] Souldier came to miſtake in the *Doſis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the Potion, for inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her witts, as *Cæſonia* did her Husband *Galigula* with an *Hippomanes*. Thoſe φίλτρα, or *Love*-potions, were commonly made of the juyce or ſuch herbes, as diſpoſed the body to Venerie, ſuch as the σατυλῖον (rendered *Paſtinaca*) call'd by way of excellency τὸ φίλτρον, ὅτι διεγερτικὸν εἰς τὰ περὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ſaies *Euſtathius*. *Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα, expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to unwitch the party againe? (for I have heard of ſome that can doe this, who cannot doe the tother) yes, either by taking counter-phyſick (as *Leucippe* did) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pauſanias* ſaies) they uſed to doe in *Achaia*, or elſe by Sacrifices or charmes, according as they imagined the cauſe: whence thoſe words of the * Nurſe to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

Seu Furor eſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico luſtrabere ritu.
Ira deum ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.

* *Ovid Met. l. 10. fab 11.*

k *Ariſtæn lib. 1 ep. 25.*

l *Achil. Tat. l. 5.*

Theſſala vendit Philtra. Iuvenal.

m *Corgias apud Tat. l. 4.*

n *Suetonius.*

* *Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 9.*

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Uſitato more ſignificandi amore.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heat (as indeed the Soule is naturally incliued * ὥσπερ αἰθόμενος, καὶ διαπτόμενος, καὶ μιμνομένῳ πῦρ καὶ φιλεῖν to the love of another you will not think what a tender care thoſe Græcian Women had of their Sweethearts, in ſo much, that if you call to mind ſome of their choyſeſt expreſſions thereof (eſpecially that of *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the definition given by ſome of the old Philoſophers, who ſaid that it is, θεῶν σπουδὴ περὶ ἐπιμελείαν καὶ σωτηρίαν γάμων. Not to tell you that ſometimes they *ſent* a wooing to the men, pray take but a taſt of their cuſtomes in this particular of expreſſing their love. To trimme up *their* bodies as they did their *owne* [a] with flowers (like a *May-maide*) or hang up Garlands at their doores (or τὰ θύρατα the parts of the houſe expoſed to ſight when the doores were open, ἃ διακόσμησιν ἴσασι τῶν παλαιόντων ſayes *Heſychius*) was an ordinary careſſe, though indeed (as [b] *Athenæus* ſaies) they intended it chiefly to the honour of Ἔρως. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐρωτικῷ ἐρώμενον ἄγαλμα, τοῦτο γὰρ ὅρπα τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσφανῶσι, as making the body of a ſweetheart the Image, and his houſe, the Temple of Love. The tokens they uſually ſent were Garlands and Roſes, τὰ στεφάνια μοι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμψαι (ſaies *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) ſometimes bitten pieces of Apples μῆλα ἀποδακτύλια (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with thoſe expreſſions in faſhion among the Romans when they ſate at table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morſells of meat, ſuch as [c] *Martiall* would have *Pontia* ſend him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or ſuch as [d] *Ovid* ſpeaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos præguſtaverit ipſe,

* *Plut. in Solone.*

In vitâ Theſ.

[a] *Euſtath. Iſa.*

[b] *L. 15.*

[c] *L. 8. Ep 7.*

[d] *Amor. l. 1. El 4.*

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

But I muſt tell you St *Hieroms* censure, *degustatos cibos, blandoſq; ac dulces literulas ſanctus amor non habet*, it ought not to be ſo amongſt you. *Symmachus* upon thoſe words of the *birds* in *Ariſtophanes*, ---- χ᾽ ταῖσιν ἱερῶσι σ᾽ ἤνεγκεν, ſaies they were wont to gratify one another with Birds, ſuch as doves, and the ἀττα, and the like. But theſe expreſſions I weigh but little, when I obſerve that ſcarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ἦσαν πύκαι ſaith the *Scholiaſt*) was paſſed by without writing [f] thereon the name of the party, in this forme ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or κεῖνος καλὸς, for the word κεῖνος among the *Gretians* ſignified *am aſium*, *a Womans word* like ἧνος in *Theocritus*,

Ἰυγξ ἴλκει τὸ ἧνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸ σᾶς. Inſteed whereof (ſay ſome) you ſhall read κῦμος in the *Comedian in Veſpis*, but I ſee no ſuch need of a correction, for he ſpeaks of the Lawyer that was ſo much in love with the imployments of the Court, that the κῦμος [a] (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one ſuch thing or other ranne ſtill in his mind, and therefore (ſaies he)

---- ἄρ᾽ ἰδὼν λέπυ γεγραμμένον
Τὸν πυελάμπυκα ὧν δρὰξ δεῖνα καλὸν,
Ἰὼν παρέχαλε Κυμὸς Καλὸς.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their Miſtreſſes, which they wrote ſometimes upon the very leavs of the trees, according to that of *Callimachus*.

Αλλ᾽ ἔνι δ᾽ φύλλοισι κεκαμμένα πάντα φέρεται
Γεγράμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρέουσι Καλήν.

Let on the leaves ſo many letters lye,
As my *Cydippe Faire* may ſignifie.

Which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες ſaies of one that was ready to dye with the love of *Cnidia Venus*. Τοῖχος ἅπας ἐκαρύσσετο, καὶ πᾶς μαλακὴ δένδρου φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν ἐκήρυττεν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a barke of a tree but what proclaimed *Venus Faire*. How glad

e *De vitâ Cleric. ad Nepotian.*

f *Diog. Laer. in Diadoro.*

a *Vid. p. 118.*

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worne them in their hats as we doe. but no wonder they did as they did, having a copy written to them by Nature, for

----- *Inſcripti nomina rerum*
Naſcuntur flores ----- and an example given them by *Apollo* himſelfe, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the ſame name, to keep his memory alive when he was dead, not contented with that

Ipſe ſuos gemitus foliis inſcribit, & Ai, Ai,
Flos habet inſcriptum ----- *Lib. Ovid. Met.10. Fab. 5.*

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preſerved, and one halfe of his name, as the ſame Author has it.

Littera communis mediis puerοq; viroq;
Inſcripta eſt foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ. *L.13. F.1.*

But the vehement love of *Moſchus* to *Bion* his deceaſed friend thought thoſe lamenting interjections too little, unleſſe there were written a Κεῖνος καλὸς beſides upon the ſame Flower.

Νῦν Ὑάκινθε λάλει τὰ σὰ γεγράμματα, καὶ πλέον Αἰ Αἰ
Λάμβανε σοῖς πετάλοιϊν, καλὸς τίθημι μαλικτὰς.

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὰ for Her was ſure to be written, for *never ſeem'd Miſtreſſe foule, nor Priſon faire*) but for her part if ſhe were Κυάνοφρυς, or had black eye-brows, ſhe was counted faire indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyſſen*, καὶ ὀφρῶν μέλαιναν φρικὶ καχυμένην τῷ ὄμματι, inſomuch that *Iul. Pollux* ſaies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if ſhe were ſomewhat bigge of ſtature; and therefore *Ariſtotle* in his Rhetorick, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τοῦ σώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the moſt commendable virtues of her mind. What the Women of other times eſteemed to be the τὸ καλλος of a man I know not. It ſeemes in *Ariſtotle's* time, it was counted moſt commendable τὸ ἐκ τῆς πόνου χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τῆς τε πρὸς δρόμον καὶ πρὸς βίαν ἁμῶν ὄντα ἱκανῶν πρὸς πόλεμον. But I have talk't too long *Theocr.*

long of Love or of *Robin-hood*, that never *ſhot in his bow*. I feare the Reader will blame me, for caſting away ſo much oyle and labour upon ſuch a ſubject, and (it may be) give his cenſure that *Oratio eſt vultus animi*. But thoſe that know me will miſtruſt his Phyſiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am *in*, I will not ſtick but *properè ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptialls themſelves.

Seneca Ep. 115.

** Tacit.*

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unleſſe the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or παρθένος ὠμραιζουσα, but a ſower grape (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe (*Matura viro* in the words of *Virgil.*) they were thus betrothed and yoaked together. The man did in the preſence of witneſſes, *promiſe himſelfe* after the manner of the Latine forme, *ſe ſponſam poſt concubitum invitam non deſerturum*, and ſo gave her one μνᾶσθαι or other *in earneſt*: but the Woman ſhe was *deſponſata promiſed* or beſtowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promiſes of a Woman were falſe enough to make the ſaying among the French to be true.

Qui femme croit & aſne meſne,
Son corps ne ſera ia ſans peine.

Achil. Tat. l. 5.

And yet (it ſeemes) though they feared ſhe might breake a *promiſe*, they thought an *Oath* to be ſtrong enough to *hold* her. For ſometimes at the conſummation of the buſineſſe, they went both into the Temple, and there engaged themſelves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Iſis*, where the man ſwore ἀγαπήσειν ἀεὶ, and the Woman, ἀνδρὶ πειθομένην, καὶ πάντων ἀποφήνασθαι κρείττω. I doe not remember that the *Athenians*

nians had that good-fellows-trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii* as well as *Charitatis*, & to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which [a] *Camma* is reported to have poiſon'd *Sinorix*, (whom ſhe pretended to marry) for killing her Husband. Or that they uſed the cuſtome of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loafe in two between them with a ſword, related by [b] Q. *Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman confarreation*, if they had. The rites uſually obſerved at a wedding are ſaid [c] to have been invented by *Erato*, they were partly theſe. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would ſay to take her leave of *the* [d] *Virgin*. Beſides this, before ſhe can ceaſe to be of the *herd* of the ἄζυγες * κῦρες, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if ſhe have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calfe never yet *married* in the *yoake*, (and ſo the fitter for the *maid* that gives, and the *maid* that takes) and a crop of her haire beſides, according to that of *Euripides*.

[a] *Alex. ab Alex. lex. l.2.c.5.*

[b] *L. 8.*

[c] *Cæl. Rhod. l.7.c.4.*

[d] παρθένος *Minerva ſo called.*

* *Eurip.*

[e] Μὸσχοιτο πρὸ γάμων. ἃς Διᾶ πιστὸν χρεὼν
Ἄρτεμιν.

[e] *Eurip. in Iphigen. Aul. verſu* 1112.

And therefore *Clytemneſtra* (ſpeaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband.

[f] Πεπτάλια δ' ἦλθ' ἢ παῖδες ἐσφάζαι Διᾶ;

[f] *ibid. v.*711.

Whether he had ſeen the ſacrifice perform'd? But alas poore *Iphigenia*, *ſhe* was not ſo much to *doe* as to *be* a Sacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddeſſe of Aulis*, and be made a calfe her ſelfe: When as *our* Woman, it will ſerve *her* turne to χαιροτόμην to *Diana* the goddeſſe of *Virginity*; that is, give her in a basket for a preſent to ſtop her mouth, ſome curious needle-worke or other with a prayer beſides to this purpoſe [g] Ἄρτεμι μὴ νεμέσα— that it might not be taken amiſſe if ſhe married. But now I muſt tell you, that beſides thoſe rites of the χαιροτόμια, there were others as ſolemne as they to be obſerved too, if ever they thought to obtaine the good will of the goddeſſe. The manner

[g] *Theocr. Id.* 27.

manner of them, and the occaſion, you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certaine Beare growing tame, came and liv'd in the δῆμος of the *Phlavides:* inſomuch that at length a little girle durſt goe ſo farre, and ſo neere as to play with it, but the Beare quickly grew to be in earneſt and drew her blood for the ſtake, whereupon one of her brothers ſhot the Beare and killed it. preſently after this there happened a very great Peſtilence in the Citty, and the Oracle being ſought unto, anſwer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they muſt make a decree, that every girle in the Citty of *Athens*, ſome time or other between the years of Five and Tenne of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her ſelfe to *Diana*, to make amends for the Beare, and therefore a girle thus conſecrated, was her ſelfe called ἄρκτος* the Beare, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Beare* (which me thinkes was very unfitting for a Maide) and ſometimes δεκατεύειν, becauſe commonly they deferred it till the laſt yeare, as *ſhe* did in [a] *Luſiſtrate*.

*Ἅρκτος.

[a] *Ariſtoph.*

Εἶτ' ἀλετεὶς ἢ δεκάπις
Οὖσα τ' ἀρχαγόνις
Κατανεύσα κροκωτὸν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

Ἐν Βραυρωνίοις, ſhe ſaies, becauſe it was to be done in the feaſt of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth of *Munichion* to the honour of the ſame *Diana*, who is [a] reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pauſanias* (*in Atticis*) ſaies, that Image of hers, which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, inſomuch that ſhe came to be called by the name of *Diana* [b] *Brauronia*. And yet after all this, for ought that I can ſee, ſhe need not have been ſo Scrupulous of diſpleaſing I know not whom, if ſhe had *Cecrops* his own Law for a warrant, who firſt inſtituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore call'd by the name of Ζεύς, ſaith [c] *Euſtathius:* or elſe, (according to the Scholiaſt upon [d] *Ariſtophanes*)

[a] *Athen l.6.*

[b] *Pauſan. in Arcad.*

[c] *Ad Odiſſ. Σ.*

[d] *In Plut. Act. 3. Sc 3.*

ſtophanes [d]) *quaſi* πρῶτον δ' ἐρῶν τὰς δύο φύσεις τῆς τε πατρὸς, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and a Mother (as to *knowledge*, and in the way of a *certaine* couple) or rather (if you will) the natures of a Father and a *Sonne*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Sonne, nor the Sonne by the Father: But ſome againe ſay he had this name, becauſe of his having the bodies of two diſtinct natures: in the upper part, of a man, and in the lower, of a Dragon, as *he* ſaies (in *Veſpis*)

Ὦ κέκροψ ἥρως ἄναξ τἀμὲ ποδῶν δρακοντώδη.

And others, becauſe of the many excellent Lawes which he made, whereby he is reported ſo to have tam'd and civiliz'd the brutiſh conditions of the ancient People of *Athens*, that he ſeemed to have *new-moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*, in the ſence that the ſtones have been ſaid to be turn'd into men, and the trees into lovers of Muſick. of all the reaſons that are given, I like that beſt which likes [e] *Rhodiginus*, who ſaies he was call'd by this name, becauſe the *children* did now *appeare* to be ἀμφιεῖς, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μονοφυεῖς, the Sons of a *Mother* only, nay hardly that, at ſuch time as the faſhion was to be *expos'd*, or *put out* to nurſing to Beares and Wolves and the like. but enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet, ſhe muſt Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the *paſt*, and in ſpeciall manner to *Juno* Γαμηλία, either as a *Pronuba* for the *preſent*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater-familias* (as *he* in [a] *Plautus* calls her) for the *future*. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their gods, when they chang'd their condition; and I ſhould be glad if *we Chriſtians* could anſwer, *not guilty* in this particular, being every one of us too too ready ὡς τὸς ἔπεσιν &c. (as *Ariſtotle* ſaies in his [b] *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the leaſt. The Sacrifices performed to *Iuno* went under the ſeverall names of προγάμεια, τελεία, and τελείοις δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνεια, and γαμήλιοι εὐχαὶ, indeed the two

[e] *Lib. 6. 23.*

[a] *In Amphitr. Act. 2. Sc. 2.*

[b] *L. 1. c. 4.*

firſt are ſometimes the ſame that ὑποβόλια, the gifts ſent before the wedding; and the word προτέλεια, is uſed alſo ſometimes in relation to others, as well as to *Iuno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verſe of *Euripides* already cited, and therefore in another [c] place of the ſame Tragedy, you have the Greek Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they ſaw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptiall pompe, thus ſpeaking.

[c] *V.* 433.

Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζει τὰν παῖδα
Αὐλίδος ἀϊόντι πὶς τὶν ἄξει πότις;

And ſo ſometimes to the [d] *Parcæ*, whom they had reaſon to remember, if they meant to be *ſpar'd*, or to *ſpinne* out their lives to the longeſt. But yet *Iuno* (I think) was in a great deale more requeſt among lovers then any of the reſt, becauſe they had her name ſo oft in their mouthes, for among the *Latins*, when they would expreſſe themſelves in the moſt affectionate manner that might be, they uſed to call one another by the name of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, as the old dotard does his *Caſina* in the Poet * by the name of *Iuno*.

[d] *Iul Poll. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

* *Plaut. in Caſina Act.* 1. *Sc.* 3.

Eia mea Iuno, non decere te eſſe tam triſtem tuo Iovi.

Adde hereunto the title of Ἥρα τελεία (as there is alſo Ζεὺς τέλειος) under which ſhe was worſhipped, which (together with the word προτέλεια) muſt be ſo ſaid either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as τελεσσίδες was for γῦμαι) from whence comes τέλεον both the Sacrifice and the day, or from προτέλειν to initiate; or from τέλειος *adultus*, as if only ſuch as were of age, (& ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ) * might be ſuffered to have the happineſſe to marry. now *Iuno adulta* and *Iupiter adultus*, were the more religiouſly worſhipped at ſuch a time ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων (ſaies *Suidas*) as being eſteemed in a manner the *Prytanes*, and overſeers of the wedding. Here's a great deale of *cry* about *Sacrifices*, but you'l ſay the *Wooll* is to come: only ſome σπονδαὶ there muſt be, leaſt any Roman ſhould grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponſa*. now becauſe (it may be) I ſet you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will ſpeak a word or two more of *them*. The gift called

* *Ariſtotle.*

gift called by *Demoſthenes* Ταμηλία, was that which they ſent to the φερέπορις for the making of a feaſt, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gifts of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptialls, they called ἕδνα, (as they did alſo thoſe which they gave when they went a wooing) but the ἕδνια χιτῶν was a garment beſtowed upon the Husband by the Wife,(giving of apparrell was very uſuall once, both with the *Iew* * and the *Gentile*)and you may not wonder at her for liberality, if ſhe *gave a cake to him that had a Paſty in the Oven*, for if ſhe *brought* her φόρτος ſhe had her ἐπιφόρια to *carry* away: nor can you blame her for immodeſty in giving, who was to be *given* her ſelfe. for elſe (it may be) before it was come thus farre, ſhe might beare the blame of the proverbe, *femme qui donne s' abandonne, ſhe that gives is ſoon gotten.* The petty gifts *then* given by the Parnts they called μείλια, as ἐπιμείλια were thoſe which were given *after* the Wedding. The Dowry beſtowed upon her by her Father at the firſt, πρῖξ, that which was afterward added to improve it, ἔπίπρωξις. (thus ſome have thought good to diſtinguiſh, and look their gifts in the mouth, but they may be too *free* of their diſtinctions) At her firſt bringing to her Husband, ſhe had beſtowed upon her by him and her friends τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was alſo the name of the day it ſelfe) otherwiſe called δωρήματα, ὀπτήρια, ἀθρήματα and περιφανῆια, and all for the ſame reaſon, *viz.* becauſe thoſe gifts were given *ut illa patereturſe videri*, ſaies* *Victorius*, to make her take off her vayle, and be ſeen. In ſuch a way *Iupiter* is reported to have beſtowed upon *Proſerpina* the City of *Thebes*, according to thoſe verſes of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Phæniſſis*.

* *Geneſ.c* 24. *v.* 51.

* *Var. Lect. l.* 25. *c.* 3.

Τὴν ῥά ποτε κρηϊδης δῶρον πόρε περσεφονείη
Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτε πρῶτον ἑῷ ὀπυιήσατο ἔμελλε
Νυμφιδίῳ σπείρῳ ὁδαλίγγιον κάλυπτρον.

Κάλυπτρον ſaies he, or καλύπτρον according to *I. Pollux:* for although

though she might *now* shew her face, and be modest too, yet before she stood behinde a red vayle or hood, with which she *hid* her selfe, and so deserved the name of עטיה, if it were for nothing else * but for that. This *Luteous* vayle is otherwaies called ἐαρὸς, in Latine *Flammeum*, [a] in Hebrew צעיף, such a thing as *Rebeccah* had when she met with her Husband, Gen.24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing c.38.19. The reason why *they* were not *unvayled* till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited by [b] *Cæl. Rhodiginus*) deliver'd *vayld* under these worde ὅπως μὴ κόρας αὖθις ἀρεῖν δεῖ, πῶς ἢ γυναῖκας σώζειν πολὺ ἔχοντας. the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custome though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very neere *ayme*, when I say,

Aucta fuga forma est ----

(as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I expresse my selfe in the words of *Nonnus*,

Καὶ πλέον ἱμείρει καλυπτομένοιο θεησθαι.

Men long to see a face that's hid the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀναγαλυπτήρια, very handsomely answered to put it off, ἐναγλυπτήρια μᾶλλον ἂν τοιούτῳ λαμβάνων, I had more need give her somewhat to let her vayle alone, unlesse she were better then she is. Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were, (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of [a] *Iphigenia* as she was going to be Married Γᾶ τε καὶ ἁλίου ὄμμα δι' ἀκαλυμμάτων Ἔχω' ---) then I must tell you they were so thinne, that their faces might well have been discovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it seems, could see the flowers thorow *them*.

[b] Ὃς με χλοερὰ
Δρεπομένην ὃσα πέπλων

* See another reason in Prov. c.3.v. 19.

a *Iuven. Sat.2.*

b *L.13.c.6.*

a *In Aul. v. 372.*

b *Eurip. Hel. v.150.*

Ῥόδια πίτυλα ----

But this may be eaſily anſwered, for as (you know) a *mountaine* that is a farre off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, ſo againe, one man is able to ſee *another* plainly thorow that which is ſufficient to hide *himſelfe*. and ſo much for the gifts at preſent, perchance you may have more anon. Now the cuſtome was for the Bride to be carried from her παρθενὼν Chamber, to her Husband in a Coach (or ſome ſuch kind of thing) but the poore Girle in the Poet* (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuſe) could terme it little better then being *ferried* in *Charon's* boat. *Id. in Tauris v. 370. &c.*

Ἄιδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἢν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ πηλέως
Ὃν μοι προσεῖπας πόσιν· ἐν ἁρμάτων δ' ὄχοις
Ἐς αἱμάτηρον γάμον ἐπόρθμευσας δόλῳ.
To *Pluto* not to *Peleus'* ſonne
You would me then have married,
When me to bloudy Nuptialls
In Coach and fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather ſo much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he ſaies he had done this office for *Helen* himſelfe.

Λαμπάδων * μιμνήμεθ' ἃς ἢ πυρφόρεις
Ἵπποις ζυγάζων παρέφερον· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροις
Σὼ τῷ ἢ νύμφῃ δαΐᾳ' ἐλήφθης ὄλβιον. *Id. in Hel. v. 728.*

(I make bold to trouble you with ſo much Greeke, becauſe it explaines the cuſtome ſo fully) The ſong which they ſung as they went along, they called ἁρμάτιον μέλος, from ἅρμα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as ſoone as they came to the Bride-groomes doore, *ut ſignarent illam ibi perpetuò manſuram, neq; inde ullâ tempeſtate* **receſſuram*. juſt as William the Conquerour burnt his ſhips at *Pevenſey*, that ſo his Souldiers ſeeing their returne to be deſperate, might Fight the more *deſperately* (as we uſe to ſay, or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφολὴπς, or φιλάνυμφος that *Alex. ab Alex.*

was ſent to fetch her, either ſate by her ſide in the *ſame* Coach, or elſe went along by her *Coaches* ſide in *another*, and was therefore called πάρεχος, from ὄχος; unleſſe that ſhe were either willing, or conſtrain'd to *foot* it, for then he could be but χαμαίπους a *Pedee*. This cuſtome for the Husband to *lead* his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in faſhion among Kings and Princes) was ſure to be obſerved at his *ſecond* marriage, for then (ſaies [a] *Euſtathius*) ὁ δήμος (ὁ νεογαμὸς ſaies [b] *Pollux*) ἢ νυμφίον μενόνεα, he might not doe it him ſelfe, perhaps out of ſhame, becauſe they accounted it a diſparagement for a man to Marry the ſecond time, yea though his former Wife were dead, as (it may be) I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you hereafter. Beſides the νυμφοῦται, or the *Bride-man*, and ſome of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her vayle, and dreſſe, and undreſſe, and doe other ſuch offices as ſhould be required. Her Wedding *ornaments* were precious ſtones and jewels, eſpecially about her head, ſuch as [a] *Hermione* had in the Tragedy.

[a] *In Homeri Il. β.*

[b] *L. 3. c. 5.*

[a] *Eurip. Androm. v 147.*

Κοσμεῖν μὲ ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρυσέαις χλιδῶσι.

Her *Wedding-garment* all of purple, ſave in one place, (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where elſe) ἔνθα γὰρ ἄλλαις ἐδόκουν ἡ χλαῖνα ἡ πορφύρεα, ἐκεῖ χρυσοῦς ἦν; and there it was gold: which agrees very well with that of *Heſiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

Οὔπω ἔργ' εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this cuſtome to interpret τὸ πορφύρεον ἡ παρθενίας (in [b] *Euſtathius*) in another ſenſe then others have done. When ſhe came to the houſe, ſhe found the Doores all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obſita*, ſaies [c] *Apuleius*: it ſeems they tarried not till * *Iuvenalls* time

[b] *Iſia. l. 10.*

[c] *L. 3. Met.*

* *Sat. 9.*

——— *Foribus ſuſpende Coronas*
Iam pater es ———

Neither was it any whit ſtrange to her to ſee thoſe ornaments upon the *Houſe*, for ſhe her

her ſelfe had the ſame, according to thoſe words of *Clytemneſtra* to *Achilles*.

[d] Σοὶ κατεύχομαι ἐγὼ νύμφιον ὡς γαμμένω. And (I think) her Husband too, μηδὲ στεφανώσης, μηδὲ πρόσωπα αἴθης νυμφίου, ſaies [e] *Libanius*, ſpeaking to the Father, whoſe work it was to trimme the Husband, as it was the Mothers to adorne the Wife. That cuſtome of adorning the *Houſe* with Garlands, was very much in uſe among the Romans too, and as much deteſted by the Chriſtians, *Chriſtianus nec Laureis januam infamabit*, ſaies [f] *Tertullian*. Thoſe Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, conſecrated to *Venus*, and ſo they made them in *Italy*; or of *Aſparagus*, and ſo they made them in *Bœotia*; or elſe of the leaves of the hearbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and μήκων, and ſo they made them at *Athens*: Σήσαμα γὰρ καὶ μήκωνας καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα οἷς στεφανοῦσι τοὺς γαμοῦντας ſaies the [a] Scholiaſt: the leaves had the name of the hearb in the plurall number. the *Garland* made of *Seſamum*-*leaves* had the name of Σησαμῆ, or Σησαμίς, but the *Cake* which they made of the *graine* was called Σησαμοῦς, for Cakes they uſually beſtow'd upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* ſaies in the * Comedy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται, Σησαμῆ ξυμπλάττεται.

And made they were of *Seſamum* rather then any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύγονον (ſaies the *Scholiaſt*) as if it were the herbe *Polygonum*, a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the cuſtome of kembing her haire with a Speare (ſuch as had been kept by a Fencer with the loſſe of his life) were in uſe among the *Grecian* Women too (as [b] ſome ſay it was) I cannot determine. but amoug the *Romans* it was, and they called ſuch a Spear *haſtam celibarem*: the reaſon why the Woman made uſe of ſuch a combe, or made this uſe of a Speare, is thought to be, either *quaſi fortes eâ de cauſâ viros ſe genituram ominetur*, or *quod ſponſi diſciplinæ ſe ſubditam fateatur*. As the Woman went forth of her *Fathers*

d *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v.* 705.
e *Declam.* 39.
f *De Coron. milit. c.* 13.
a Vpon *Ariſtoph. in Pace.*
* *Ariſtoph. Pac.*
b *Alex ab Alex. l.* 2. *c.* 5.

thers houſe, ſhe was to be *lifted* out over the threſhold, juſt as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of Election, to pretend a conſtraint: you ſee, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almoſt every where, and yet they ſay, that *Love will creep where it cannot goe*. As ſhe entred into her Husband's, the [a] Boyes, and Maides fell a throwing of Figgs, and junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraide him of *ſycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulneſſe*, εὐσπερίας σημεῖον, (ſaies *Rhodiginus* out of *Theoſompus*) which puts me in mind of a fooliſh cuſtome once in faſhion with ſome of *Us*, *viz.* upon *Twelfe eve* (as they call'd it) to put a part of their toſted *Beane-cake* upon one of their Trees, and ſo to cry Whatſayle, and ſing a *Carmen* for a fruitfull yeare. The trumpery thus thrown or *powred* out, they called καταχύσματα, as the word is uſed by the Poet in his Comedy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to doe the like upon *him*, and ſo to give him the *Joy* for his new-bought eyes: ſaies Shee

[a] *Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

----- κομίσω καταχύσματα
Ὥσπερ νεωνύμοισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the *Scholiaſt* notes it to have been the cuſtome alſo for a new Servant, at his firſt coming into the houſe, to have him to the fire ſide, and there to *ſow* upon his head κόλυβα, ἰχάδας, φοίνικας, Junkets, and Figgs, and Palme branches, and a hundred other ſuch trinkets, but this I think was done, not onely as *he* ſaies, εἰς εὐσπερίας σημεῖον, to make it an *Omen* of fruitfulueſſe (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was throwne, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) doe the *Freſh-mans-gawdies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in Wedlock all bitterneſſe and choller muſt be caſt aſide) they took the [a] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice,

[a] *Cæl. Rhod. l.28.c.21.*

if

if there happened any thing *obſcene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were diſſolv'd, and thus it happened to [b] *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*, for an Eagle came and ſnatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. now this Sacrifice was uſually performed by the Fathers (and none ſo fit to be the Prieſts of their own family) as may be gathered from the practiſe of [c] *Agamemnon*, who, when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding-cheere*, very religiouſly made anſwer yes,

[b] *Ach. Tat. l. 2.*

[c] *Eurip. Iph. in A. v. 721.*

Θύσας γε δύμας' ἅπερ ἔχεις δύπω θεοῖς.
When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As alſo by that which you may read of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he ſpeaks of the Marriages of *Lycippe*, and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more ſpeciall manner to *Iupiter* Ὁμόγνιος, and *Iuno* Συζυγία, if it may appeare by that of *Libanius*. τὰ παῖδε ἐπήρατα, καὶ ὁμόγνιον δία, καὶ Ἥραν συζυγίαν ἐπήμασι περέπειν. By reaſon of this and other ſolemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a prophanation they made it to diſturbe the buſineſſe never ſo little, or to offer any incivility to either of the parties, eſpecially to the Wife, as for inſtance. One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the ſtory in *Photius Codice.* 208.) being accuſed of bribery to the *Areopagus*, they ſummond him to make his appearance at the Court to anſwer the crime; but the Sergeants that were ſent (ſaith my Author) τὰ περίοδος ἰδόντες ἐστεφανωμένα, καὶ γνόντες ὡς εἰς τεθυκὼς γυνὶ γάμοις, ἀφῆκαν ἢ ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν· ἃ γὰρ ὠφθησαν τῦ ἄγχι ἐπισελθεῖν γυναικὶ νεογάμῳ, as ſoone as they ſaw but the *ſignes* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the doore) and were informed of a Nuptiall Sacrifice, becauſe they would not ruſh uncivilly in upon the new-Married-Wife, they made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned preſently back againe, and the Court was contented with the *newes*. So likewiſe in the Warres with King *Philip*, having intercepted ſeverall Letters of his to his friends, and among the reſt

[d] *Libanius declam. 35.*

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*; when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cryd out μήτε λύειν, μήτε ἀναγινώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up: [a] Πρὸς γὰρ γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ἢ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλεῖν ἀπόῤῥητον αὐδενὶ ἐνόμισαν δημοσιεύειν ἐνταῦθα ἦν, because they thought it a thing no way beseeming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the service of their *gods*, they made hast to the service of their *Genius*; but amidst a great deale of good cheere, the Man and the Wife were alwaies noted [a] for a great deale of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thornes, and boughs of Acornes, singing as he went [b] Ἕυρηκα κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, *I* (or they) *have avoided a worse evill, and met with a better.* If he spake in the person of the Man, he ment that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the *three evils* at the least; & so it is not so bad as *Out of the frying pan into the fire*; (unlesse you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of the leesing of her, for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and sixpence, hath some losse by the mony.* The Musick which they had was singing ἀμοιβαῖος, by turnes; and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Talassius*) [c] Ὑμὴν, ὦ Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμέναι ὦ Ὑμήν, imitated by him in *Plautus*

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankefull commemoration* of one of that name, who had sometime sav'd the Maides of Athens from a generall ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*) or else in a *sorrowfull commiseration* of another, that happend to be kill'd by the fall of a house the very day that he Married. What ever the *Man* was, they seem to have given him the honour of a *God*, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distast, in omitting any part of the Nuptiall ceremonies,

a *Phocius* ib.

a *Athenæus l. 9.*

b *Zenobius.*

c *Aristoph. in Avib.*

Quid

Quid ſi etiam offendam Hymenæum?

Saies he in [a] *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep ſuch a noyſe in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as ſoon as ever ſhe was out of her Fathers houſe

[a] *In Caſinâ Act. 4. Sc. 3.*

Ὅταν ξυὸ μαιείσην ἐξάγῃ κόρων.

ſaies *Clytemneſtra*, [b] which agrees with that of the other Poet in the ſame place.

[b] *Euripi. Iphig in A. v. 693.*

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

Whether 'twere the faſhion in Greece to ſet the Woman firſt in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I miſtake not) *Lactantius* ha's ſomewhat of ſuch a thing, and I might ſpeak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the Woman was ledd into the Chamber, (ἢ δάλαμον or ἢ παστάδα) to ſhew whereto ſhe muſt, there was a ſive carried along with her, and a peſtle hung up at the doore, σημεῖα αὐτουργίας, as *I. Pollux* ſaies) or to ſignifie that hereafter ſhe muſt learne to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the man and the Woman were *both* in (for the Woman was in firſt, as the faſhion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince-aple* and eate it between them, ὅτι δεῖ πρῶτον τοὺς γάμους, καὶ φωνὴς χάριν ἐυάρμοστον ἔχειν καὶ πρᾶον καὶ ἡδεῖαν, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to ſignify the pleaſantneſſe, and harmony which ſhould be in their talke at firſt. And yet notwithſtanding, now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would but come and ſcold (*grave cornicaretur* forſooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at leaſt) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀτελίζουσι δῶμα, or γάμους ἀτελῆ, becauſe by this means

[a] *Valer. Flacc.*

----- [a] *Conjux miſeranda Cayco*
Linquitur, & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.

δῶμα I ſaid, or (if you will ἀτοκοπέζως ſpeake a little finer) δωμάτιον, for this word is many times uſed by it ſelfe for δάλαμος, as it ſeems to be by *Plato* in his third booke *de Republ.* ſpeaking of *Iupiter* thus, καὶ ὅπως ἐκπαγήσεται ἰδόντα ἢ ἥσει, ὥστε μη-

δὲ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐξέλθῃν, ἀλλ' ὡσπὲρ βυκόμενον χαμαὶ συγ-
b ἐργ. l.2. χύνεσθ: and yet I thinke, [b] *Heſiod* (without any wrong done him) may be underſtood of any other buſineſſe left *Roughhewn, unpoliſh'd*, or not *done over* againe, when he ſaies

Μηδὲ σίμον ποιῶν αὐτὶπέζεσιν καταλείπειν
Μήτοι 'ερεξομένη κρώζῃ λακερύζα κορώνη.

c *Apud. Euſtath. l.5.* [c] *Iſmenias* applies it indeed to our purpoſe. but now to prevent ſuch an *omen* as this, they ſet the boyes to cry Κόρη ἐκκλίνει κορώνῃ, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had bin ſet to keep off the Rookes from the corne, κορώνῃ (I ſay) and not κορώναις in the *Plurall* number, for herein the *Scholy* upon *Pindar* is ſuppos'd to have miſtaken; becauſe neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky, unleſſe it came in the *ſinguler* number, and then the birds being *ſingled* and divided one from the other, could not poſſibly be a good ſigne, to thoſe that were to be *couplꝺ*, and joyned together. But ſome notwithſtanding like the Choughs for very *good lucky birds* (as we uſe to ſay) let them come how they will, either becauſe they are πολύζωοι longliv'd (as *Homer* calls them) or becauſe *ea cornicum ſocietas eſt* (ſaies [a] one) *ut ex duabus Sociis alterâ extinctâ vidua altera perpetuò maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lye, they had two beds, *viz.* Κλισμὸν γαμικὸν, & κλίνην ἐφεδάβυσον, or a *ſide-bed* for a change or ὑπὲρ τὸ πλῆθος ἀθυμῆσαι, ſaith *Heſychius*, if the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would terme the bed κυείδιον λέχος, as *Ariſtophanes* does (in *Pace*) and ſo κυείδιον * δῶμα for the houſe, and κυείδια for the Wife. Before the Woman could lye withe Man ſhe was to have her bath of water heated of purpoſe to waſh her body in, νυμφικὸν λοῦτρον they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Luſiſtrate.*

a *Alex. ab Alex. l.2. c.5.*

* *Homer.*

Στρ: Εἰ ῥύμμα τυγχάνεις ἔχων, λοῦτρον παρίξω
Χορ: Ἐμοὶ σὺ λοῦτρον ὦ σαπρὲ; Στ: ἢ ταῦτα νυμφεύσῃ.

And *in Pace*, you have *Trygæus* when he intended to marry

Opora

Opora, giving order to his ſervant, as ſoone as he had brought her to his houſe, firſt to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' εἶσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν
Καὶ τὼν' πύελον κατ'κλυζε, κἀθάρμαν' ὕδωρ,
Σπέρυθίμος κἀγὼ τᾷ κυρίδιον λέχος.

This water at firſt was fetcht as farre as from *Callirhoe-well*; ἐκ τῆ καλλιῤῥόης, ἔστ' αὖθις ἐκ τῆ ἐννεακρένυ κληθείσης, *but afterward* (ſaies [a] *Pollux*) *from Enneacrounos*, which was ſo called because it had nine ſeverall κρήνας or *fiſtulas*, or *ſalientes*, where the water *ſprung* up, and ſo you might allow one for every Muſe in the City. but what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two diſtinct *names* of the ſame? Well, the one expreſſing what *faire Water* it was, or how *well* and cleare it ranne, and the other in how many *places*, for it may very well be thought ſo by that verſe of [b] *Statius*.

[a] *L.3.c.3.*

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis
Implicat ----

[b] *Theb.12.*

Nay, *Thucidides* ſaies poſitively they were the ſame, only that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was uſuall when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunos*. which if it be ſo, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆ Καλλιῤῥόης, ἔστ' αὖθις τῆ ἐννεακρένυ κληθείσης. from *Collirhoe* afterward named *Eneacrunus*. The Woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this Water, was commonly called the ΛυτροφόροΣ. When the Wife was ready to undreſſe, her Mother took her haire-lace, and winding it about one of the torches (for *they* had δᾴδας νυμφικὰς too) burnt it out, and made up her haire with a new. the *Mother* I ſaid, for *ſhe* commonly would δᾳδουχεῖν, carry the torches or *hold the Candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba*'s uſed to doe.

---- *Non te duxit in thalamos parens*
Comitata primos, nec ſua feſtas manu

Ornavit ædes, nec ſuâ lætas faces
Vittâ revinxit ----- ſaies * *Iocaſta*

* *Senec. Theb.*

For the matter of theſe Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet aſſur'd, whether it were *Corylus* commonly uſed for ſuch purpoſes, according to *Pliny*, or *Larex*, or *Spina alba*, which they uſed among the Romans. and ſo likewiſe for their number, whether the cuſtome were to have juſt five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, *viz. Iupiter Adultus*, *Iuno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Suadela*, and *Lucina*, they have not given me light enough to diſcover: a little glimmering I have, and ſome cauſe to conjecture that there was a certain number required, otherwiſe, why ſhould the covetous Father in [a] *Libanius* complaine ſo heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not ὅτι λύχνῳ πρὸς νύμφιον ἀγαγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one and no more. but for the bearer, that it was uſually the Mother, will appeare by the diſcourſe that paſſed between *Clytemneſtra* and her Husband in the * Poet; for when her Husband bid her goe back again to *Argos*, and leave her Daughter with him, ſhee ask'd him

[a] *Declam.37.*

* *Eurip. Iph. in Aul. v.734*

---- τὰς δ' ἀναζήσει φλόγας, but who ſhall carry the Torches then? and being anſwered ἐγὼ παίξω φῶς, ἐνμέροις πρέπει, that he meant to doe it himſelfe, nay, quoth ſhe οὐχ' νόμος τοῦτ' οὐδ' ἐσθλὸν ἡγῇ πάλαι, that was never the cuſtome, neither doe you your ſelfe think it to be handſome and fitting. And indeed, I think, *Clytemneſtra* was wrong'd, for it ſeems to have been reckon'd not ſo much the *office* and the *charge*, as the *Priviledge* and the honour of the Grecian Women, and therefore *Medea* made it one of the ſad conſequents of her baniſhment from the company of her Children, to be debarr'd the bearing of the Torches at the Wedding, O my deare children, quoth ſhe, what a Wretch am I, who muſt thus leave you before

[a] *Eurip Med. v.1025.*

[a] Πρὶν λέκτρα, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ γαμηλίους
Εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι, λαμπάδας τ' ἀναζέσαι.

Tis

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had deſir'd only to have *lighted* the Torches, ſhe might very well have been blam'd for her paſſion, for becauſe then he had done no more then other fathers uſed to doe. δᾷδας γαμηλίους ἀναψάμην. I lighted the Torches ſaies he in * *Libanius*. but this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they ſhar'd it between them, for the Mothers might doe it too, if we may believe the Author in thoſe words which he puts in *Niobe's* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's*) upon the death of her children, Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον οὐκ ἀνασχόμην (not only ἀνάσχεσθαι) παῖς παιδὸς ἢ παρθένοις: I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding &c. At *Sparta* there was none of theſe doings, only the *Prenuba ſhaved* the Woman (whether becauſe ſhe had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husbands) and ſo deliver'd her up to the man (if ſhe had gone among the * *Iſraelites* when ſhe was thus us'd, certainly the People there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife. The *Zona* which the Woman wore was untyed by her Husband in the bed, ζώνη δὲ λύει ὁ κύριος ὃν ἔδυσαν αἱ παρθένοι, ὃς καὶ ἐκλυσὴ πρὶν ἀνὰ πάρθενοι γένοιντο, ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*. certainly the name of Λυσιζώνη might be given to *Diana* as ſeaſonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worſhipped ſhe was then, as well as at any other time, but atwhich of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd beſides this, or whether it were tyed and untyed againe, or whether one knot were vntyed at firſt time, and another at the ſecond ther's the knot of queſtion (if we may queſtion for knots in bulruſhes) indeed that there was a Zona untyed the Wedding night, I think it may be prov'd by thoſe words of *Alceſtis*

* *Decl.35.*

* *Deutr.c.21. v.12.*

Ὦ λέκτρον, ὅτ' ἐν παρθένοι' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ
Κορεύματ' ἐκ σῶ δ' αὖθις ----

And that there was another left to be untyed at the time of Child-bearing, I have reaſon to conjecture from the *Herculaneus*

neus nodus formerly mention'd; becauſe (I ſuppoſe) they call'd it by that name in alluſion not ſo much to *Hercules* his ſtrength, as if they would have it the *faſter*, that is the ſtronger ty'd; as to his happineſſe in making of Children, as if they would have it the faſter *unty'd*, as faſt as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maides (whom we may call the *Children of the Bride-groome*) ſtood at the Chamber doore, and ſung their ὑμεναίαμα, or γαμήλια, with as great a noyſe as poſſibly they could, ἵνα τὴ παρθένου βιαζομένης, ἵνα μὴ ἀνδρὸς ἡ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακούηται, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her *time*, ſhe might not be heard: which they had no ſuch need to doe, if that be true which they ſay, that one of the Brides friends, whom they called the παρανύμφους, uſually did him that good office to ſtand Sentinell at the doore, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorc'd* from his *friends*; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the *Women*, (called Θεσμοφόρια by *Iſæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the φεράπορτες, as his Father in Law had done before him: this making of Feaſts at Weddings, was properly called δαῖσαι τὸν γάμον, as it is in the Tragedy.

Pollux l. 3. *c.* 3.

Iphig. in Aul. v. 707. *&* 720.

Κ' ἄπιτα δαῖτες τὸν γάμον ——

And a little before.

Ἑστᾶσ' ἔδαισαν πλεῖστα γάμον δαῖτα.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work, for *they* alſo kept a feaſt of purpoſe for the Women beſides, and therefore ſaies *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἑορτὰν τῇδε γυναιξὶ θύομεν.

The ſaying, *aujourd huy marié, & demain marri*, to day Wedded, and to morrow ſadded, would ſcarce hold true among them for the day after the Wedding, the mirth ranne as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the houſe

houſe in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with ſuits of Cloaths and all ſorts of Houſhold ſtuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like: a cuſtome obſerved by the *Lacedemonians* with ſo much pride and exceſſe, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to reſtraine the Suits to the number of three, and the reſt of the things to a lower price. The gifts then beſtowed they called ἀπαύλια, (as thoſe which I preſented you before were called ἐπαύλια) and ſometimes λαμπάδια, as being that which (to ſpeake in *Iuvenal's* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur ---- and ſuch gifts *Medea* once ſent by her children to *Glauca*, but ſo with the vengeance as ſhe made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which ſhe gave her the roaſt.

Πέμψω[a] χθ αὐτὴ δῶρ' ἔχουσας ἐς χεροῖν,
Νύμφῃ φέρουσας &c.

[a] Eurip. Med. v. 784.

And this puts me in mind of ſome that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing προαύλια for the firſt, ἀπαύλια (when the garment called ἀπαυλιστρὶς was given by the Woman to the Man) for the ſecond, and ἐπαύλια for the third.

[1] Pollux l. 3. c. 3.

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optime ducatur Uxor.

THE time of the *yeare*, which they deemed moſt lucky to Marry in (for almoſt every Nation has had their *nefaſtous* times and daies) was the firſt Moneth of the Winter (clean contrary to the cuſtome of the *Perſians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and ſet upon the worke of Generation in the Spring. but though they *chalked* but one part of the yeare, I hope they did not mark all the reſt with a *coale*, neither can I think they had the ſame opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, [a] *Menſe malus Maii nubere--*

[a] Ovid. l. 5. Faſt.

b *Quæſt. Rom.* 8.6. it may be *malum* by b *Plutarchs* conſent, The beſt day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone, that they might be *brought to bed* (as we ſay) the ſooner, and grow the fuller themſelves, but the beſt part of the day was the laſt, or the next to the night, and ſo they might goe to bed the ſooner. juſt at theſe ſeaſons *Themis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in thoſe words of hers (and the Poets)

* *Isthm. H.*

---- ἐν δικομηνίδι αν
Δὲ ἑσπέρας ἑκατὸν
Λίοι χὺ χαλινὸν ὑ-
-φ' ἥρωι παρθενίας.

But I make no queſtion (as exact as they were in *Marrying*, many of them had the fortune to be *borne* ἐντριτάτῃ *Quartâ Lunâ*, as *Hercules* had. beſides,* *Heſiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he means μηνὸς ἰσαμίνου of the firſt third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, ſo that no *oſcinous* bird did *obſcævare* or *oceinere*, or ſing another ſong to the contrary.

* *Ἔργ.* l. 3.

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἀγὰξ εἰς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν
Ὀισωνὸς κείνας δὲ ἐπ' ἔργμαπ τόπω ἄεισον.

Whereas the ἕκτη μέν (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgement all as bad againe eſpecially for the Woman. But I muſt confeſſe, I rather encline to the judgement of the Goddeſſe eſpecially having a Agamemnon too (a *man*) on my ſide, who when the queſtion was ask'd --- πῖνι δ' ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖ; made anſwer.

a *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul.* 717.

Ὅταν Σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος.

When that bleſs'd ſeaſon of Full-Moon ſhall come.

I doe not find the *Romans* to have been ſo ſcrupulous, as to think a Marriage to be *imperfect*, unleſſe it were at the *Full*, or never to be as good as it ſhould be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another *colour*, black and unſutable with

with the mirth of a Wedding, and ſo were all Holy-daies whatſoever, and the reaſon you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in theſe words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare eſt: ideo tunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur.* to whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-dayes to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they cal'd them) to ſuch as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *poſtriduani dies*, that is, the firſt daies after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri* were not to admit of any Sacrifice. now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which ſhe could not doe, if ſhe married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widow* might be ſuffer'd to Marry upon a Holy-day (and *Varro* will tell you the reaſon, but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feaſt of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. beſides having of *non licet* daies, they had a cuſtome to Marry only upon ſuch a day as by the judgement of the Aſtrologer (to whom they ſought) *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But ſo much may ſuffice concerning the *time* of Marrying, I proceed to ſpeak of the qualifications of the perſons to be Married.

[b] L. 1. *Sat.* 6. 15.

Apul.

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THE Conditions required in a Husband were theſe. Firſt, he muſt be no ſtranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was, both his goods and he too were ſold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly he muſt be no leſſe then five and thirty yeares old, according to the *Law*, and according to [a] *Ariſtotle* two years elder, but according to [a] *Heſiod* a little younger, or a little elder is ſeaſonable enough.

[a] *Polit. l. 7.*

Μήτε τεττάκοντων ἐτέων μάλα πολλὸν ὑπολείπων

Μήτ' ὀπιθεὶς μάλα πολλά.

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, ſole daughter and Heire (ſuch a one as *Ariſtophanes in Veſpis* calls ὀπταμπάλλα or πατρῶχον) he muſt be one of the ſame houſe, and the next of the blood. but then there alwaies were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) ſome others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the buſines with him, and plead to the ſame; and then ſuch Women were called ἐπίδικοι, [b] and the whole ſuit Ἀμφισβήτησις, the queſtion was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Laſtly he muſt not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at leaſt he might not be ſo upon paine of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Cittizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, μήτ' εὐδοκιμέιτω, μήτε μετεχέτω λόγου ἐν τοῖς πολίταις ὁ παισὶν ἀπὸ μιᾶς μητρὸς ἑπόμενον, *whoſoever ſhall ſuper-inducere novercam, let him be* ἄτιμος, *&c.* Beſides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Step-dame*) gave one pretty reaſon more againſt being the *Husband of two Wives* in this ſence, by way of a *dilemma:* you ſhall have his words as I found them in [a] *Ariſenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα φιλοσόφων *&c.* ſaies he, Ἐπ' ἐπιτυχὲς μὲν γὰμας τὸ πρότερον, εὐημερῶν κατέπαυσον, εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχες, μανικὸν τὸ πλείους δυοῖν λαβεῖν πάλιν. εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ὁδὸς οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρόσκυμασιν ἁμαρτάνων ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη, *If thou hadſt good luck in thy firſt Wife, thou ſhouldſt have kept thee well while thou waſt well: if thou hadſt not, thou art little better then a Foole or a Mad-man, to ſtumble again at the ſame ſtone.*

[b] *l. Poll. l. 3. c. 3.*

[a] *Mouemlaſiæ Ariſtiepiſ.*

CAP.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THE Qualifications required in a Wife, were theſe. Firſt ſhe muſt be *free*, before ſhe put her neck in the *yoake*, for otherwiſe the Marriage was counted συνουσία rather then γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Heſiod*) ἄλοχον ἀλλ' οὐ γαμετήν --- if ſhe were a ſtranger, ſhe muſt pay ſoundly for it, no leſſe then a thouſand δραχμὰς to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let downe* by Pericles his ill example, yet it was *brought up* againe by *Ariſtophon*. Secondly, ſhe muſt be ſixe and twenty years of age, and yet Ariſtotle even in [b] *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen, out of indulgence to the Sexe ſurely, for elſe he thinkes it very unfitting they ſhould marry ſo young. both becauſe ἐν τοῖς τόκοις πονοῦσι μᾶλλον &c. they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and alſo becauſe he had obſerv'd that in thoſe places where they uſed to make ſo much haſt, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικρὰ τὰ σώματα, the Puppies for the moſt part were blind, not ſo perfect, or not ſo bigge of ſtature as elſe they would be. but then there is * another who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two ſooner then he.

[b] L. 7. c. 16.

'Η δὲ γυνὴ τίτρω' ἥβας, πέμπτῳ δὲ γαμοῖτο.

* *Heſiod. Oper.*

And [a] another ſooner yet (if I doe not miſtake)

'Εστὶ δ' ὅτε ἥβην ἥλικα, ὡραίων γάμων.

[a] *Eurip. in Hel. v. 12.*

Cùm ad pubertatem venit, tempeſtivis nuptiis.

Thirdly ſhe muſt be but one, and no more according to [b] *Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of men, to make the more haſt for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine (whom they made uſe of only *ad concumbendum* for the preſent occa-

[b] L. 13.

sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the best*. and what will you say, if *Socrates* himselfe made use of this liberty? for I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd againe by their Husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were, thus to fall out for one unhandsome man: but * others there be againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water γάμος, ἀπὸ τοῦ Νοῦ ἅμα εἶναι. unlesse you will have the man to stand out. *Hermione* her selfe, though she were *superinducta* over *Andromache's* head did altogether dislike the encrease of the number.

* *Rhod. Panætius.*

---- [a] ὡς δὴ κακὸν
δοῦλον γυναικῶν αὐθέντ' ἓν' ἡνίας ἔχειν.

a Eurip. *Androm.* v. 177.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφθονον τι χρῆμα συλλόγων ἔφυ
Καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μάλιστ' ἀεί.

Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

And verifi'd they have been, not only by her own example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*, but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greekes, especially in the Country of [b] *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magicall devices, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then [a] --- *partu retinere maritos*. thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so she told the tother.

b Eurip. *ib.*

a Juven. *Sat.* 2.

--- συγῶμα δ' αἰδεῖ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νικᾶν δ' ἀκόμων διὰ σὲ μοι δοκοῦσ'.

When such courses as these are taken

Turgida

[b] *Turgida non prodeſt condità pyxide Lyde,* Neither the keeping of a Spider in a boxe, nor the laſh of a naked *Lupercus* will doe any good. Fourthly, ſhe might be halfe a ſiſter to the Husband, ſo it be meant not ὁμομήτριος, or ὁμογάστριος, or *uterina*; but only ὁμόπατριος, by the Fathers ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Aemilius Probus* (whether in its *germane ſence* I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Siſter *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen non magis amore, quam patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere.* this act of *Cimons Athenæus* thinks to have been done παρὰ νόμους, contrary to the Laws, and ſo in a clancular way, but *Plutarch* ſaies he did it in a publike manner not only by making her his concubine to lye with him, συνὼν, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning συνοικία, but σὺν οἰκῶν, taking her into his houſe to live with him, and that for a lawfull cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a *Husband* fit for her condition. but for all this, I doe not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous*.

---- παῖς πιμπτὸν μάγυν
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ----

When Sonne is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

Unleſſe you will maintaine the goodneſſe of the practiſe *then*, by the greatneſſe of the Perſons that uſed it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleas'd.) Fiftly, ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſſe ſhe were intended for a Baſtard-maker, and in a *Proletarious* manner, only for *breed*, I mean for a Concubine, for ſuch I take to be little better then what *Talthibius* once ſaid poore *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* [a] λέκτρων σὴν παμφόρειαν, and the children little better then Σκότοι, if the Father were more in the *dark*.

[b] *Iuven.* ib.

[c] *L.* 18.

[a] *Eurip. in Troad.* v. 251.

As

As for her Portion or Eſtate, ſhee was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heire to the whole Eſtate, or ἀπροίκος that had a Brother, and no more then her part or a *portion*. The greateſt diſtinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion, inſomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἄπροικος; yet he would have the γραφικὰ, *the Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the beſt. Thoſe writings were ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of witneſſes, and the man did ἐπέχυσέ τι ἀποτιμᾶν, make over to the Woman ſome Houſe of Land in exchange, and this they call'd [a] ἀποτίμημα.

[a] *Harpocr.*

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part) or elſe, if ſhe were an ἐπίκληρος, ſhe might goe *to another*, unleſſe he were able to excuſe himſelfe by a lawfull impediment, ſuch as coming from Funeralls is accounted by [b] *Heſiod* in thoſe words of his

[b] *L. 2.*

Μήδ' ὑπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἀπονοσφίσσασθαι
Σπερμαίνειν γυναικὸς.

Or by any other unſeaſonableneſſe of time: for that they thought ſome times more ſeaſonable then other, and ſome fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appeare by the words of the ſame Poet, ſpeaking of the ſixth day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδράσι δ' ἀγαθὴ, κέρδη δ' ἐ συμφορέεσθαι.

And a little after of two other daies.

Ἑβδὴ δ' αὖ δεξίη μὲν ἀνὴρ τάδε, κὴν τὰ γένηται.

But if they were about any ſolemne Sacrifice to the gods, be the time what it were, it could never be lucky for either, and

and therefore at ſuch times they uſed (as well as the Iſraelites) to abſtaine altogether, or ἀγνῶς ἔχειν, *pure habere*, as the Poet cal'd it in *Aſinario*.

Si forte purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ὀπλήεσσα were overlay'd, or any way abus'd by her Husband, ſhe might have a Writ ἀπ' ἀκωσίου ἢ ὀπλήεσσα, otherwiſe called ἐσαγγελίαν, and be ſuffered to leave him; and this they called [a] ἀπολείπειν: where as if the Husband would part with *her*, it was call'd ἀποπέμπειν, becauſe he might tarry in his own houſe, and be rid of her company never the leſſe. But one thing I muſt tell you too, that for either party to *leave* or to *put away* the tother, was a thing alwaies very much deteſted among the Grecians, inſomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the cuſtome was for ſo many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pigge in the poke*, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lyſander* himſelfe for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. but ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to ſeparate from the Man, 'twas a thouſand times worſe then ἀποπέμπειν, even flat Rebellion, or *delinquency* at the beſt. heare but what [b] *Medea* ſaies of it

[a] *Schol. in Arriſtoph. in Equit.*

---- ὃ γὰρ ἀνυκλεῶς ἀπαλλαγαὶ
Γυναιξίν, ἢν δ' ὅ,τι τάχιστ' ἀπήλασε πόσις.

[b] *Eurip. Med. v. 236.*

Where ſhee puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoyes before the Woman, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poore *Wife* if ſhe be well us'd, tis true, ζηλωτὸς αἰὼν -- *no life like hers*-- εἰ δὲ μὴ -- *but if ill* -- θανεῖν χρεών *there is no remedy but death*, or *ſhe had better be out of the life*. On the other ſide, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all, and what a diſparagement it was to Marry a Second, not only after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceſtis*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married againe, though ſhe were dead.

[a] *Euripides In Alceſt. v. 464.*

Εἰ ἦ π κμυδεν ἔλοιτο πόσις λέχος
Ἢ μάλ' ὅμοι γ' ἂν εἴη συγηδείς.

But was it ſo indeed as *Medea* complain'd, and was the Woman to be miſerable ſtill without any hopes of redreſſe? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if ſhe found the Conjugall yoake too ſtrait, and had a mind to ſlip the Collar, ſhe was to make her complaint to the *Archon*, who deputed other judges to conſider if the cauſe were lawfull, and ſo to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that ſhe engage her ſelfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands houſe againe: and when this was done, ſhe might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or elſe ſerve him with a Writ δίκη προικὸς σίτου, or allow her maintenance, and ſo much a Month for uſe, as long as he detain'd the mony.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum ſcleragogiâ, & ſervilibus miniſteriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckond it ſufficient cauſe to complaine, to be put to ſervile employments, I know not: ſuch abuſes as this were many times offered: I doe not ſtand ſo much upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever [a] *Hecuba* has complaind of that imployment) but the baſer ſort of ſervices, ſuch as fetching of Water upon their heads, which the poore old Maide in the [b] Poet, might juſtly make one of the ſaddeſt parts of her ſlaviſh condition.

[a] *Apud Eurip. Troad. v. 493.*

[b] *Id. in Elect. v. 55.*

----- τὸ δ' ἄγγος τῷ δ' ὑφεδρεῖον τίθεσ
φέρουσα πηγὰς ποταμίους μετέρχομαι.

It ſeems the Grecian Women their faſhion of carrying Water, was the ſame that ours is now; nay and the Roman too; for [c] *Ovid* ſaies of the Veſtall Virgin her ſelfe (*Sylvia* I mean, when ſhe went to fetch Water, and ſlept away her Maidenhead

[c] *L.3. Faſt.*

head, a good caveat for all ſleepy Servants)

Ponitur è ſummâ fictilis urna Comâ.

And ſo likewiſe I did once conjecture that the Men amongſt them uſed to carry Water and other things too, much in the ſame manner as they doe with us, I mean with things put about their necks, becauſe of that which the Poet ſaies of *Vlyſſes* his Marriners, when they took in freſh Water in *Sicily*.

---- ἀμφὶ δ' αὐχέσι
Τεύχη φέρον τας κινὰ βοείας καλαμίνας
Κρώσσας θ' ὑδρηλὰς ----

Now whereas I mentiond only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other ſide, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beſeeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or ſo much as to know what was done there, τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πεπόμενα εἰδέναι, ἀνωφελὲς. it is *Ariſtotles* own *Oeconomicks*, at leaſt καὶ ἡ διάνοια, though not καὶ ἡ λέξις (to uſe the words of *Tuſanus* ſometime profeſſor at *Paris*, who tranſlated into Greeke againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being loſt, and only a Latine tranſlation of one *Arrhetinus* left) And very good reaſon you will ſay, there is, for *her* to be excus'd from labour abroad, that muſt keep ſo cloſe at home, & yet *travell* too: which cloſe confinement made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wifes condition. *If any thing grieve her* (ſaies he) *ſhe has no more company to make known her griefe unto, then μίαν ψυχὴν, her own poore ſoule: and whereas they object that the Husband goes to Warre, and does this and that, I for my part*, ſaies ſhe

----[a] τρὶς ἂν παρ' ἀσπίδα
Στῆναι δίλοιμ' ἄν, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ. ----

a *Eurip. in Med. v.* 244. to 251.

---- Three times to beare a ſhield
Thrice better doe it think, then once to beare a child.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or leſſe, according to her Fathers liberality in her

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this ſhe came *behind* her, though ſhe were otherwiſe the firſt Wife; my Father, ſaies ſhe, ſent me hither in a liberall manner.

a Eurip. Androm. v. 153.

a Πολλοῖς σοῦ ἔσθοις, ὡς ἐλευθερουμένῃ.

With many a good thing. that having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. only you that brought nothing with you, muſt goe to doores, and ſhe that cannot pay, muſt be ſure to pray. this argument of hers, her Waiting-maide afterward *bandy'd* back to her againe, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. *for*, ſaies ſhe, *he did not take you as a Captive*, or ſo, *but* b σοὶ πολλοῖς ἔσθοις *he had ſomething with you.*

b Ib. v. 872.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honeſtioribus opificiis.

THE employments moſt uſuall and leaſt diſhonourable, were ſeeing things handſome & neat in the houſe, and providing for the Workmen abroad: take it in *Electra's* own words

c Eurip. Electr. v. 75.

--- c τἄν δόμοις δ' ἡμᾶς χρεὼν
Ἐξυφαντρίδας, εἰσόπιν δ' ἐργάτη &c.

d I. Poll. l. 7. c. 10.

Or elſe working at any kind of Lanifice, either at d ξαντικὴ the tazing, ſhall I ſay or the carding of the Wooll? or στημονιτικὴ, when they went to ſpinne out the στήμων or *ſtamen*, and διάζωξ (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the reſt of the Wooll; or laſt of all at ὑφαντικὴ, the Weaving and joyning the στήμονες together, with the help of the κέρκις, (the *pecten* or the ſley like a comb) and the ἄγνυθες, or the λεῖα, ſmooth ſtones (like our ſmooth lace-ſticks, that they might not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The poſture in Weaving was more anciently a ſtanding, but at length (when they were weary) it came to ſitting (with the Romans at leaſt) excepting when they made plaine work

a Servi ad Aen. 8.

work *rectâ* as the Latines cal'd it, downe *right* with one thred a croſſe and no more; for there was πικιλτικὴ too, and a great deale of variety in ſome workes, as well as ſeverall ſorts of workes in the trade; which was the cauſe why [b] *Ion* in *Euripides* when *Creuſa* told him of a Bearing-cloth of her own Weaving, askt her of what ſort of making it was. [b] *V.* 1419.

Ποῖον τι πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Unleſſe you will confine this πίκιλσις to the Virgins (as you may ſeem to have cauſe from the words but now produc'd) & the Wives & Mothers (or their Servants for them) to the plainer worke, as it is ſaid, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, ſaies *Feſtus*, the Parents among them would make their Children none but plaine Cloaths, to ſhew they muſt uſe themſelves to plaine dealing. And ſeeing Weaving was a worke ſo well beſeeming the better ſort (as appears in *Creuſa* the daughter of no worſe man then *Erectheus* a King of Athens, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra* if ſhe have put it among her complaints in that verſe.

Αὐτὴ δ' ἐμοχθήσα χερσὶν πέπλους.

that ſhe was kept to Weaving, for (it may be) her complaint was rather that ſhe could not be her own Woman, and Weave for her ſelfe, but muſt be ſtill winning and never wearing, and ſtarve in the Cooks ſhop. I muſt tell her thus much from [a] *Ariſtotle*, if ſhe liv'd in a ſtate of levelling Democracy, though ſhe were a married Woman (as ſhe was but πολυχρόνιος παρθένος) that or any worke elſe would have been thought too much to little purpoſe, for ſaies he in ſuch a caſe, τοῖς ἀπόροις αἰ ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥσωρ ἀχλόοις διὰ τὸ ἀθυλίαν, ſhe muſt be forc'd to doe things her ſelfe for want of Servants, and ſo there could be no ſuch thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all. [a] *Polit. l.6. c.* 143.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Ftliarum Oecuria.

NOW the Wives beſides their γυναικωνίτις, (their Bed-chamber ſhall I call it, or their Attiring roome, or their Dining-roome, juſt as the men had their ἀνδρῶνας) had their [b] θάλαμον ἐξῶν too to work in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶνας to play in, for I feare me, *vuides chambres ſont dames folles*, and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

b *Poll.l.1. c.8.*

[c] Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόνας ἐᾶν χρεών.
That Maids *at home* ſhud not be left alone.

c *Eurip. Iph. in Aul. v.737.*

'Tis true they were helpt for *gadding abroad*, inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediatly following the former.

Ὀχυρώσαι παρθενῶνα φρουρᾶν τ' ἀκριβῶς.

And if their Daughters not yet *ſhut* faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were, in Priſon (for which their οἰκήσεια, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives; when they *ty'd them up*? as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their [a] Poets.

a *Ariſtoph. in Theſmop.*

---- Ἢ γυναικωνίτιν
Σφραγίδας ὀπιβάλλειν ἤδη καὶ μόχλους
Τηροῦντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ προσεῖναι μολοσσικὰς
Τρέφειν μορμολύκεια τοῖς μοιχοῖς κύνας.
---- beſides the ſeales
Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay
To make us ſure; nay more, their Maſtive-curs
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were οἰκουροὶ Houſe-dogs (as wee call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was ſo

ſo hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. in which ſenſe you may well take that of the ſame Poet in *Luſiſtrate*. χαλεπὸ γυναῖκων ἔξοδος. for if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Goſſipping humour) they muſt be ſure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικεῖος κόσμος, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικόκοσμοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpoſe, who had power to impoſe a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was [a] poſted up upon a certaine plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what doe I talke of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands were ſo hard or ſo jealous, as not to ſuffer their Wives and Daughters ſo much as to *look* abroad, or if they were ſuffer'd by them, they ſhould be ſure to ſuffer themſelves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide took up her Miſtreſſe ſo ſhort, when ſhe went forth at doores in a paſſion.

[a] *l. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.*

[b] Ἀλλ' εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων
Πάρεισι γάρ τινες, μήποτ' αἰσχύνῃ λάβῃς
Πεσόντ' ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν σὸν δ' ὀρωμένη, τέκνον.
But, pray, get in, and ſhew not thus your ſelfe
Before the houſe, &c.

[b] *Eurip. in Androm. v. 876.*

Where, I dare not ſay, the tranſlator was *Phantaſtick*, to render φαντάζου, *imagineris*, but what ever he ſaies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpoſe. Nay looking out at a window, was almoſt as bad as looking out at doore; Κἂν ἐν θυείδει προκύψωμεν (as the Women complaine in *Theſmophroriazuſæ* * where you may read more of their grievances) if they did but *peep* out, they would be thought to doe it, as other Women us'd to doe, & to draw in their head againe, the better to draw out the affectiõ of the beholder. Nay farther yet, I feare me, ſome of the Daughters had ſcarce the liberty to goe

* *Ariſtoph.*

goe out of one roome into another, for ſo it was with *Antigone*, when ſhe went up to the top of the houſe to view the Army, as may well be conjectur'd by the words of her *Pædagogue* (a Tutor, ſuch as to whom they commited the bringing up of their Children Maids or Boyes)

a Eurip. Phæniſ. v.88.

a Ἐπεὶ σε μᾶτερ παρθενῶνας ἐκλιπεῖν
Μέθηκα.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave* I know not, I believe they could hardly doe it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad, for ſo I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* ſaies.

Οὐκ ὅτε μὰ τῇ γε κὴ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο.

The Womens own private chamber, (*Gynæconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynecon*, call it what you will) was (ſaith *Didymus*) δίστεγος, two ſtories high, like a neſt, to make it the harder to climbe up to them, for (to tell you in his Words) ὁι γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι τὰ γυναικῶνα ὑπερῷα καὶ θαλάμους κατασκάζον ἐπὶ τῶν συντάκτους ἕνεκα. the People of ancient times, built their ὑπερῷα their upper chambers for the nonce. Ὠὰ and ὠία they cald them then, inſomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies cloſe-bred up in ſuch a chamber, is thought by ſome to be ſaid to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* faſhion of the Roome, or the like ſignification of the name in the Greeke. Whether they went up by a Ladder, or a paire of ſtaires, 'tis not ſo eaſy to determine, as it was to get up. for when I call to mind what á doe the *Pædagogue* (whom I laſtly mentiond) had to help up his Pupill by the hand, I am apt to think that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the tother to the *Gynæcon*, to have been a ladder, and not a ſtaire-caſe. heare how ſhe cries for helpe.

Ὄρεγε νιν, ὄρεγε μεγιστὰν
Νέᾳ χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Πόδες ἴχνος ἐπαστέλλων.

Such a κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no ſuch need of helpe; for

Κλίμαξ

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατιβήσατο εἴο Δωμοῦ.

Now a Woman if ſhe went about any work that requir'd expedition, her faſhion was ἀς γόνυ ζωσαμένας, as [a] *Theocritus* ſaies, to be *nudâ genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for feare of being taken for a doxie. ſuch a one as in Heſiod is called γυνὴ πυγιόστολος, me thinkes not ſo well rendred *nates ornata*, as * *ad nates ſuccinctâ*, from the *ſtola*, too ſhort to become the modeſty of a Woman, or the uſe of the word among the Latins. I might here take occaſion to ſpeak a great deale of their apparell, and the over many ornaments which they uſed about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other ſorts of this kind, but becauſe there has been promis'd a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I think it better to hold my hands. beſides, I am of *J. Pollux* * his mind in this, that for a good many of thoſe names which we find in Authors, where they ſpeak of this kind of things, ὑ ῥᾴδιον τὰς λέξεις σωνοῦσαι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ σφόδρα συνῆσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἴτε σκωπτόντες, εἴτε παίζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'tis hard to know what faſhion the *things* were of, becauſe it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jeſt or in earneſt in the *names*.

[a] *Id.* 14.

* ἀναστυρμίδα.

* *L.* 5. *c.* 8.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a Man had plowd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mœchus manifeſtarius*, * but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐπ' ἀγρῷ (as they call'd it) it was counted ſo much the worſe, and he that found him, might abuſe him as much as he pleas'd, yea and kill him too, if the Cuckold did deſire it, (and no doubt, but ſometimes he had *hay in his Hornes*. If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himſelfe, he might have him before the *Theſmothetæ*, and cauſe him to be puniſhed at the

* *Plaut. in Bacchid.*

* *Poll. l.8.c 9* pleaſure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of puniſhing an adulterer, had as little modeſty as the crime it ſelfe. it was calld either πυγπλμὸς, or παραπάδωσις *ſynecdochically* the part for the whole. for having pluckt off the haire of his privities, they threw hot aſhes in the place, and thruſt up a Raddiſh or a Mullet into his fundiment, according to that of *Juvenal Quoſdam mœchos & mugilis intrat:* Inſomuch that ever after he was diſgracefully call'd εὐρύπρωκτος. A puniſhment little enough for ſo great a vice, ſo great I ſay, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publike uſe of Harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpoſe to prevent it. And for the Woman having thus violated the *Lawes* of the gods (or the men rather, for *they* were better) ſhe was not only forbid to goe to the Temples, but if ſhe went any where elſe with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for Ἄμισος, a baſe companion. On the other ſide, if the Woman were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers puniſhment then was no more then a fine. and you will not ſo much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you conſider how the tother commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman, and is ſo much more the dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that muſt breake the doore. For proofe whereof, if the Adultery of *Aegyſthus* and *Clytemneſtra* which proceeded to the death of *Aganemnon* be not ſufficient, I referre you to that practice of *Sejanus*, who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Druſus*, had no other way to be reveng'd, *Cuncta*

* *L.4. Annal* *tentanti* (ſaies * *Tacitus*) *promptiſſimum viſum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc ut amore incenſus adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii ſpem, conſortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had raviſht a young Woman (ſo ſhe were

b *Iſæus pro Pyrrh.* free borne) his b puniſhment was a fine, *viz.* a thouſand

Drachmæ

Drachmæ, but then beſides that, he was to Marry her too, (unleſſe it could be made appeare ſhe had taken ſomething of him in conſideration) which puts me in mind of a ſtory of the *Meſſenian* in *Pauſanias*, who to compell *Ariſtodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child; whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kill'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worſe then *Virginius*. There was a time when a Raviſher of a Virgin was to be ſton'd ſhall I ſay, or preſs'd to death, for they call'd ſuch a puniſhment λάϊνον χιτῶνα, as *Homer* ſpeaks.

Λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἕνεχ' ἕσσα ἔοργας.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THE *Athenians* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Marriage exhortations*) had three ſacred plowings. one in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Buzugion:* but yet, ſaies he, ὁ πάντων ἱερώτατος ὄζιν ὁ γάμηλιος αὐλαξ, καὶ ἄξοντι ὅτι παίδων τεκνώσεως, the plowing for Children is the beſt Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very ſutable to a *Conjugall* condition) he agrees with the expreſſions commonly uſed by the Greekes of χαὼν, and Ἄρουρα, and Αὖλαξ, concerning the Women for as * *Ariſtotle* ſaies in his *Politicks*, ἀπολαύοντα φαίνεται τὰ γινόμενα ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φυόμενα ἀπὸ γῆς: as alſo with the uſe of the word ἀρόω for to beget, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρώσω, and in his *Antigone* ἀρώσιμον in the ſame ſence. So *Ariſtænetus* a in one of his Epiſtles (ſpeaking of a Woman to be Married) ſaies ἐπ' ἀρότῳ παίδων, and *Moſchus* has an *Epigramme* of purpoſe upon Ἔρως Ἀροτεύων. the Latin word *Sator* anſwers very well to it, and ſo would

* *L. 7. c. 67.*

a *L. 1. Ep. 18.*

would *Insitor* to the word βλάστη a bud, and βλαστάνειν ſo commonly uſed in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the ſame ſence. Now for a Woman with child, it was ſometime the cuſtome for about forty daies before her time, to abſtaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. but then *Ariſtotles* * advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to goe every day in Pilgrimage a certain journey, to doe ſervice to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἕνεκ' εἰλαχόντων πλὼ πρὸς τὰ γενέσεως πημάτων, and his reaſon was, that they might not ῥᾳθυμεῖν grow *unluſty* by ſitting ſtill, but by *this* kind of *travelling* prepare their bodies for a worſe: as *Plutarch* ſaies, *Lycurgus* cauſed the Maids of *Sparta* to uſe the exerciſes of wreſtling, and coyting, and ſhooting and the like, that by this means having confirm'd their own health and ſtrength, they might make the ſtronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζοιντο πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, *wreſtle* with the *throwes*. The principall god whom they pray'd unto, eſpecially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Εἰλειθυῖα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν, from her readineſſe to come to the Women at a call, or a *crying out*.

* *Loco predict.*

----- *Aperire partus* [a]
Lenis Ilithiia ----

a *Horat. Carm. Sæc.*

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handyneſſe or *dexterity*, & willingneſſe to performe it, ſhe was worſhipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quod eam putarent facili Conceptam alvum egerere*, ſaies *Feſtus*, and ſometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

----- *Facilinæ templa Dianæ.* [b]

b *Sil. Ital.*

Either a *face*, becauſe ſhe was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if ſhe did but *hold the Candle* to it) and ſo was *Ilithiia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ οἰκεῖον αἱ ὠδῖνες; (ſaies *Pauſanias in Arcadicis*) becauſe the paines of a Travell are ſo *hott*: or elſe from *facilis*, *eaſy and without difficulty to be wonne*.

c *Ovid. Faſt. l. 2.*

----- *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis*, [c] being likewiſe for the ſame reaſon called by the Greekes εὐοδινεῖα, as by *Orpheus*, by whom ſhe is alſo termed Θηλῶν Σώτειρα, and ὠδίνων Ἐπάγωγος, and Ὠκυλοχεῖα, becauſe ſhe ſtood ſtill ready as it were *at the doore*, and was alwaies *at hand* to doe the work of a *hand-woman* --- *tu voto parturientis ades.*

d *Id.*

Or laſtly from *facilis eaſy and without paine*, becauſe ſhe gave the Woman *facilem partum*, as he ſaies

Ut ſolvat partus molliter illa ſuos.

For the ſame cauſe they gave her alſo the title of Γενίδλιος, as the Latins did that of *Genitalis.*

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.

To this purpoſe I remember a jeſt related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Epheſus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Non eſſe mirandum, quòd Diana occupâta in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abeſſet*, and yet this jeſt (as *dry* as it is) *Plutarch* is ſo farre from liking, that he ſaies it was *cold* enough to have extinguiſh'd the flames. Laſt of all ſhe was alſo called φωσφόρος, quaſi ἡ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐλθόσεως τῆς βρεφῶν ἔφορος, ſaith the a *Scholiaſt*, as much as to ſay *Lucifera* or *Lucina*, for by this name ſhe was moſt of all ador'd by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid.*

a *Ariſtoph. in Luſiſt.*

Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dediſti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

b *L. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

Now this *Lucina* (ſaith b *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon, *Luna à lucendo nominata eſt, eadem eſt enim Lucina*, and the Moon

c *L. 4. de Ling. Lat.*

being (as c *Varro* ſaith) *naſcentium dux*, was therefore worſhipped by the Women in travell. *quod partus matureſcant ſeptem aut nonnunquam novem Lunæ curſibus*, or becauſe the Moone by the *filling* and opening moyſture of her influence, *gravidi dates & partus affert, maturitateſq; gignendi*, as the *Orator* ſaid in the ſame place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall* number, as you have in *Homer* --- μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι, and in

Ariſtotle

Ariſtotle διὰς τοὺς εἰλειχθῆνας, &c. you may take it to be in reference only to ſeverall names of one and the ſame *Diana*, and in eſpeciall manner to thoſe three *viz. Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, & *Proſerpina* beneath: in regard to which the Women among the Latins uſed to call her *Diva triformis*, in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing.

Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimiſſis letho
Diva triformis.

Diana ſhould be a Gentle-Woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I ſaid, for that was the ground, or the principall name, all the other names ſeem to be but the deſcant, or ſo many *Epithetes*, and *Sur-names* upon it. So in *Euripides* his * *Hippolitus* you have.

Ταὶ δ' εὔλοχον Οὐρανίαν
Τόξων μαδύσαν
Ἄρτεμιν.

In another Tragedy. [b] Ποδώκη Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν and
---- [c] φωσφόρῳ δύσεντι᾽ᾳ. Ἄρτεμις or *Diana* ſtands ſtill the ſubſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adjectives. Beſides theſe to the Moone, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themſelves, whom they worſhipped by the name of Τετραπάπρεις. *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* ſay ſome: ſo many windes, ſaies one [a] (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables) but what have the Women to doe with the Wind? it can blow *them* no good, but a *tympany*, and ſo puffe them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* [a] calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Protocreon*. and *Philochorus* [b] ſaies, they were the three firſt men that were begotten. And here I muſt tell you of ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too; for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs, and pray to them then for the bringing *forth* of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thankes for the bringing it *up*: and thus much I conjecture by thoſe words of *Oreſtes*, when one told him that.

a *Etymol. Dition.*

that he ſaw *Aegyſthus* Sacrificing to the Nymphes.

a *Eurip Elect. v.616.* a Τροφεῖα παίδων, ἢ σφε μέλλοντος τόκου;
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De Puerperio, & fœtu Maſculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpoſe for that uſe I cannot tell; neither durſt I conclude as much by the λόχιοι δαλάμοι in b *Euripides* where ſpeaking of *Iupiter* and *Bacchus*, he ſaies

b *In Baceh. v.96.* b Λοχίοις δ' αὐτὸν νὶν
Δέξατο δαλάμοις.

At the time of travell, they were wont to take Palme buſhes and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a virtue either to *conquer* the paine, or to make them *beare up* under the burthen the better, according to that of *Theognis*

---- διὰ τίκτια πάντια λαιτὼ
φοίνικος ῥαθάμνης χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη.

I doe not read that ever before travell they ſtood in feare of ſuch things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as S^t *Auſtin* ſaies) ſuppos'd thoſe Hobgoblings *improbos ſæpe extitiſſe mulieribus, & earum appetiſſe, ac peregiſſe concubitum.* or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpoſe to ſit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Peſtle, and another with a Broome, cutting and beating, and ſweeping at the threſholds to keep a *Sylvanus* off from coming to hurt the Woman for having child without him. I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it hapened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their houſe (as the Hebrew phraſe is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, ſaies * *Apuleius*, ſuch a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, Κίονα δόμων, ſaies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and Ἕλας ἄμαχον κίονα, ſaies *Pindar* of the ſame.

c *De Civ. Dei l.15.c.22.*

a *Ibid.l.6.c.9.*

* *L.10. Met.*

ſame. *Iphigenia* her ſelfe, when ſhe dreamt of the fall of a houſe, could interpret the Pillars for ſo many Sons. for ſaies ſhee,

Στύλοι γὰρ οἶκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες

The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reaſon the men ſhould beare the name of the Pillars of the houſe, if the Pillars of the Houſe can beare the names, and the figures of the men. as they doe many of them to this day: *names* they made choyce of the beſt, ſuch as Ἄτλαντες among the Greekes, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worſt, with a hunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibboſi*, according to that in *Martial.*

---- *Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Beſides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar inſteed of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man. And well might a male child beare the name of a Pillar, that was ſometimes honourd with that of the Sun, for ſo does ſhee in * *Euſtathius* call her child: Ἴλιε, ſaies ſhe, ἦλιον ἐμὸν παῖδα, a Sun to my Sonne, but now alas I am become αἴβλιος, and they are both *gone downe.* * *Iſm. l.* 10.

CAP. III.

De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child as ſoone as it was borne, was waſht in Water (or elſe in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* faſhion, and deſir'd to *prove*, ſhall I ſay, or to *improve* the ſtrength of the Infant) of this waſhing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus, a *Plut. in Lycurg.*

Poſtquam peperit pueros, lavare juſſit; nos occapimus
Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus eſt & multum valet?

And ſo likewiſe in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he ſpeaks of *Priamus*

mus his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her ſiſter, and her ſonne *Alexander*, though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὰὼ τεκοῦσαν καὶ τὸ γεννηθέν, the Mother and the Child, he did it ſaies he.

Πεῖν ἐκ λοχείας γυῖα χυτλῶσαι δεδσω.

From which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be calld *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tell you more of this matter, for the Scholiaſt notes upon the word χυτλῶσαι, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was, and uſed only for the cleaning of the body) they annointed it with oyle, kept in a χυτλος, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. the reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort. *viz.* ἵνα οἱ πόροι τοῦ δέρματος ἀνεωχθέντες ψυχθῶσιν τοῦ τε ἐλαίου ἐπιπλωματικὸν ὄντος, (as the [a] *Scholiaſt* has it) to cloſe up the pores againe after they had been opend by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of annoihting, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυτλῶσαι, ſometimes uſed to ſignify the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Iupiter*.

[a] *In Ariſtoph. Plut.*

-----ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεδύσατο κόλπων
Αὐτίκα δίζητο βέον ὕδατος, ὤκε τοκῆος
Λύματα χυτλώσαιτο.

In alluſion to this χύτλωσις [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus*, ἀχύτλωτον λοχείλυ. for coming from ſo cleane a place as *Iupiters* thigh, he had no great need of a waſhing.

[b] L. 9. *Dionyſ.*

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabilis, &c.

THE Child being waſhd, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpoſe by the Mother in the time of her Virginity, as may be conjectur'd by that which *Creuſa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erechthidæ* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Aegis*, by help whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off, beſides the likeneſſe of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Eriĉthonius*, who being borne of nothing but *Vulcans* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

----- ὅθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ
Νόμος τὶς ὄστιν, ὄρφνιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρόφοι τίκνα. Saies the Poet: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of. and yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Heſperides &c.* and that becauſe of their quicknes of ſight, according to *Feſtus: Dracones dicti* ἀπὸ τοῦ δρακεῖν, *quod eſt videre: clariſſimam enim habebant oculorum aciem quâ ex cauſâ incubantes eos theſauris cuſtodiæ cauſâ finxerunt.* Being wrap'd in the cloth inſteed of being put in a cradle, it was either layd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: and thus was *Hercules* himſelfe, and the *Lacedemonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the * *Celtæ* uſed the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*: or elſe upon a *Vannus* or *Ventilabrum*

Eurip. in Ion. v. 25. & 1427.

* *Strabo l. 7.*

labrum. quod alimentorum copiæ & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant ſaies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De Infantis geſtatione circa focum, & de nominis impoſitione.

WHen the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the houſe. At the ſame time the cuſtome was for the Midwifes to waſh their hands. now in token of joy for having a child, the Parents bedecked their houſe with Garlands; and in congratulation, the kindred that intended to be at the *naming-feaſt*, ſent their γενεθλίους δόσεις (as *Aeſchylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have uſed to doe with us at a *Chriſtning*. the things which they ſent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepiæ*, whether as rarities, or for what reaſon I am yet to ſeeke. The verſes of *Eubulus* cited by *Atheneus* c. 2. ſpeake as if thoſe things were not kept till the feaſt, but us'd the ſame day, as likewiſe Doves, and Thruſhes, and Coleworts with oyle, and toſted pieces of *Cherſoneſus*-cheeſe, and I know not what. the whole ſolemnity of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and ſo is the *Genius*, or γενέθλιος δαίμων, ὁ τὰς Ἀμφιδρόμους, from the running about the hearth (which it ſeems was plac'd in the mid'ſt of the roome) or as we may call it *Dauncing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but ſurely there muſt be a fire, for *Heſychius* ſaies, thoſe that carried the child muſt be naked. The naming-feaſt which I mentiond, was kept upon the ſeaventh day after the birth, ſaies
a *Ariſtotle*; and his reaſon is, becauſe that day was obſerv'd to be very criticall to moſt things, τὰ πλεῖστα ἡ ἀνωμαλία ἔχει τῶν ἑβδόμων, and therefore, ſaies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they preſently gave it a name, ὡς περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, as preſuming

a L. 7. *de Hiſt. an.*

ic

it would continue ſo. But (with reverence be it ſpoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) for the feaſt which they kept was called δεκάτη and thoſe which then ſacrific'd (for that was to be done firſt) δεκάτῳ θύειν or δεκάτῳ ἱερεύσαι: and at the ſame feaſt (ſaies *Suidas*) were the Kinred wont to meet all together, to be witneſſes (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Againe, beſides the authority of a Scholiaſt upon the word δεκάτη (in *Avibus Ariſtophanis*) I have the plaine teſtimony of the Poet himſelfe in the ſame Comedy in another place, where he brings in *Piſthetero*s thus ſpeaking of Athens, in an alluſion to the cuſtome.

Οὐκ ἄρα θύσετ' ὦν δεκάτῃ ταύτης ἐγὼ
Καὶ τοῦτ' ὠπτὴρ παιδίῳ γοῦν δὴ ἐμῷ.

Now a [a] Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children, but uſually the eldeſt ſonne was called by the name of the Grand-father. I cannot ſay that they kept this name, and had no more, for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus*, when ſhe came to be elder and wiſer, aſſumed the name of *Theonoe*. thus * *Leucippe* when ſhe was bought, was new-nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Iſmenias*, *Atraces* when he became enſlav'd: and indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Maſters, who preſently gave them new, ſuch as they thought fit, either from the Country, as ὁ Σῦρος, or the colour and complexion, as ὁ ξανθίας or ὁ πυρρίας: or ſome good quality in him, as ὁ πιστὸς, and ὁ ῥᾴων, or elſe from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νεομηνίας. At Rome the Maſter gave them a name of their owne, but 'twas when they ſet them free, and ſo a new name was a token of liberty too: or of ſomething better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or ſome other good fortune, which made him in *Lucian*, when an Eſtate fell to him,

[a] *Euſtath. in Il. 5.*

Eur. Hel. v. 13.

* *Achil. Tat. l.5.*

† *Euſtat. l.9.*

Phot. Bibliotheca. Cod. 279.

See Rev. 2 17

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*; and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings, as among the *Persians* &c. or gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palæmon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυσζώνη, (*Cinxia* you may call her in Latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Χιτώνη. untill she were purified, she was as carefully shund, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα, they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layn for dead, or if they happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint, when they came forth againe, they would be sure to wash: whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, ἀπὸ τε νόδυς καὶ λεχῶς καὶ μιάσματος παντός. which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*, when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes* whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousnesse, to have no body come neere her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerail, &c. *I defy* (saies she) *the hypocrisy of that Goddesse whatever she be, that shall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of purity, forsooth, shall forbid such and such to come neere her Altars.*

a *Iphig. in Taur. v.* 380.

---- [a] βροτῶν μὲ λύ τις ἄλλη φόνῳ
Ἢ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρὸν δίγη χρεών
Βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μύσαρον ὡς ὑγιμνον.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth

mouth of a Chriſtian. for *Thycidides* ſaies that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Iſle of Delos, ſhould by this meanes be polluted, made a law, that no Woman ſhould lye in for child there, but ſhe muſt be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iſland neere adjoyning. What day ſhe was puriſi'd in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the queſtion put in *Euripides*.

Λέγ' ἡλίυς ἐν οἵσιν ἀγιδέι ληχὼ.

Whether it were at the time of the πεντηκοστος, the feaſt that was kept at the forty daies end (for ſo many daies ſhe was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, when the child was a a *tenne-night* old, (as we ſay a Seaven-night, counting nothing but the nights for I doe not think 'tis the tenth *Month*) I doe not well know, but *Electra* ſaies it was ſo.

δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, ὡς νεμίζεις.

Whenſoever the time was, the Women, after ſhe had waſh'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* ſo called from * thence) ſhe her ſelfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child, and her Husband to the Nymphes, for helping him to ſuch a Wife, or both (if you will) to returne their thankes, that the child came in its due time, and this one calls παιδὸς δεἰξιον πλεσφόρων δύνιν. It may be in caſe of weakneſſe, or if ſhe were ignorant of rites (as ſhe might be at the firſt) another did it for her, as *Clytemneſtra* did for *Electra* upon her requeſt, but indeed it ſhould be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemneſtra* her ſelfe confeſſed.

* *Pauſan. in Ach.*

Ἄλλης τὸ δ' ἔργον ἦν σ' ἔλυσ' ὠκ πίκων. *Eurip. Electr. v.* 1128.

During her lying in, the greateſt pare of her food was colewort.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes during the time of ſucking, were called τιτθαὶ (from τιτθοὶ, the ſame that μαστοὶ the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίδες) ϑῆβαι dry Nurſes. now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *uſu liberioris* * *auræ*, and to make the Nurſes the more neat and clenly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies and the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhould be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes*.

* *Rhodig. ex Plat.*

ὡς μοι χυτρείδιον ἀπογγίῳ βεβυσμένον.

Saies they were wont to have their ſponge full of hony, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedemonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe (and ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelfe) or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them, to be nurſes themſelves: and therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe employment, was faine to excuſe it, by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. and ſo likewiſe you ſhall finde *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappines, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lalle* a child a ſleepe, they uſed *lallare* to cry λάλα, or ϛωκαλᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it. their ſongs they called καταβωκαλήσεις, and ſometimes νύνια, for ſo is *nænia* uſed in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib. 7. Somno occupari ut poſſint leves audiendæ ſunt nænia*, ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus*.

εὕδετ' ἐμὰ βρέφια γλυκερὸν κ' ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον
εὕδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δύ' ἀδελφεώ, ἔννυα τίκτα

* Ὀλβίε,

Ὄλβιοι ἐυναίζοισδε καὶ ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἵκοισδε.
Sleep my little ſoules, &c.

For thus they were wont to ὑποκοιμίζεσθαι to the child, calling it alſo ſometimes παιδίον, or παιδωτεύς, or συμφοιτευτὴς and the like.

CAP. VIII.

De expoſitione Infantum.

BUT we ſhall have no need to trouble our ſelves to get Nurſes, if the child either dye of it ſelfe, or be *expos'd* to dye by the Parent. if it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth ſaies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall ſacrifice or ſolemnity in Mourning or otherwiſe. as being (in the words of *Iuvenal*) *minor igne rogi*. which practiſe is by *Plutarch* in his *Conſolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perſwade her not to grieve for the death of her child. ſaies he ἐπὶ μὲν ἄλλοις ἄθροις καὶ πολυτελείας παντοίας ἀεὶ τὸν τάφον. The cuſtome of *expoſing* children, which the Græcians call ἐκτίθεσθαι, with the people of ancient times was very uſuall; it was exerciſed upon ſuch children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. we *read indeed that *Moſes* was us'd thus becauſe he was טוֹב or a goodly child, but *he* was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *expoſed* to the river. this practice was in moſt places at the pleaſure of the parent, but at *Sparta* I read that they took better advice, for there they had a Committee of purpoſe call'd by them Ἀῖσα appointed to examine every child, whether it were εὐπαγὴς καὶ ῥωμαλέον, ſound or not. The places where they expos'd them, were ſometimes Rivers and Lakes, ſuch as *Moſes* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Aemilius*, ſome times a ſinke or a gutter, according to that in *Iuvenal*.

* *Sat.* 8.

* Exod. 7. 1, 2.

----- *vetat ſæpe*

Ad ſpurcos decepta laeus. Sometimes a deep pit, ſuch as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all. ſometimes Woods and deſert places, ſuch as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* ſaies. *& in alta nemora pabulum miſit feris Avidis* ---- and ſometimes the wide Sea, as *Iuſtin* ſaies of one, *Habis* (if that be his name) *Gangaridis Habidem nepotem ſuum in mare projici iuſſit.* If a child were expoſed any where upon the Land, after they had ſwathed it, τοῖς σπαργάνοις *faſciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. ſuch a pot ſome would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria.*

---- *verum vidi Cantharum*

Suffarcinatum. as if it were *Suffaſciatum*, whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *ſuffarcinatam*, for as much as *ſuccinctam.* It is ſometimes called ὄσχασον, as by *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, where he ſpeaks of *Oedipus* thus

---- αὐτὸν γενόμενον

Ἐξέθεσαν ἐν ὀσχάκῳ -----

And ſometimes χύτρα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon the ſame place, whence comes χυτρίζειν *exponere.* What kind of thing that αὐτόπτης was, wherein *Creuſa* expoſed her Baſtard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot ſo well determine, *Euripides* ſaies it was ἄγγος a veſſell, & that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skinne, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

---- αἰ ἀπλίξας σκύτος

Εἰλικτὸν αὐτόπτης.

Me thinkes it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly ſo, then *Moſes* his תבת can be: for firſt he ſaies there was σκύτος εἰλικτὸν skinne or leather, roll'd or folded up, ſuch as ſome of our Cheſts have. 2. It was faſtend or lock'd of one ſide: αὐτόπτης ab αὐτὸς. and πύγνυξ, as our trunks are. 3. It was round alſo, and fit to be tumbl'd as he ſaies,

---- κἀκπεσοῦσα ὡς δαναΐμονον

Κοίλης

Κολίης ἐν ἀντίπυργος εὐθήχῳ κύκλῳ.

And for ἀγγος, that will ſerve well enough for any ſuch thing, as well as *vas*, or a *veſſel*. If the child were expoſed upon the Water, it was uſually put in a thing made like a basket made of oziers, or bulruſhes, daub'd & clos'd with ſlime and pitch, ſuch as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though they thus ſet him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be ſure to ſett him *forth* too, in the beſt manner they could, with rings, and jewels, and garlands, and many pretious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

* C. 2. v. 3.

---- [a] λίγνθχε παρθένος χλιδῶ
Τέκνῳ περσάψασ' ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανουμένῳ.

[a] Eurip. Ion. v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to finde it ſo lying, and would * *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his τροφεῖα, or θρεπτήρια, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand, and if it dyed, there might be enough for him that would beſtow the paines, to beſtow the coſt too in the burying, according to that in * *Terence*.

* *Tolleret.*

* *Heautont. Act.* 3, *Sc.* 1.

----- *cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum*
Detraho, & eum ut unà cum puellâ exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis eſſet de noſtris bonis.

Theſe πάγνια, or *crepundia*, moſt commonly were faſten'd about their necks, and were therefore call'd περιδέξια, as they were likewiſe called γνωσισματα; for they were many times, bottles and bells, and ſuch like toyes (and ſo you muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt ornaments & marks) becauſe they were for another end yet beſides the former, *viz.* ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶ (ſaies * one) not to adorne him, but to marke him ſo as to know him againe, and to ſet the parents name therein, as we uſe to faſten collars and ſuch like things, about the necks of our doggs: & it may be the rattle-bels were faſten'd to find him by the noyſe, as we doe our Hawkes. for you muſt know, every child that was expoſed, was not expoſed with this in-

* *Dio Chryſoſt.*

rent to be kill'd (as ſome would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of feare it would be kild, if it were not expos'd (as it was with *Moſes*) and ſometimes (if it were a Baſtard) they put it out of purpoſe to have ſome body nurſe it, for if ſhe bred it up her ſelfe, every body would know it. beſides, when they were expoſed with that intent, the parents for the moſt part had not their ends, for none have prov'd more famous men then ſuch as were expos'd, as might be made appeare by ſundry examples. At the beſt, expoſing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Aelian* commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and ſo did the Romans too afterward, among whom, no expos'd child could be free of the City, and yet *Ariſtotle* could afford to preſcribe it. ἔξω νόμος μηδὲν πεπρωμένον τρέφειν, but he was then in his *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Phyſicks*, or his naturall affection. our *putting out* children to Nurſe, many times proves little better then expoſing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in ſecret, and ſecure from an enemy, as *Oreſtes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Aegyſthus*, and therefore *Sophocles* ſpeaking of his manner of life in his youth, calls it κρυπτὸν ἦβαν; and ſo you might have call'd him δόλιον πεδεγμένον, in the words of *Lycophron*. but enough of expoſing. I will proceed to ſpeak of the euſtomes they uſed in education: only, becauſe their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak a word firſt of the ſeverall ſorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diverſitate.

ACcording to the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, there were foure ſorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰδαγενὴς, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς, the ſonne of a married free Woman. 2. Ὁ νόθος, *qui Latinè reddi non poteſt*, ſaies * *Quintilian*, the ſonne either of a forreigne Woman, or a Concubine. ſuch a ſonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τῷ νόθῳ μηδὲν ἀγχιστείων ſaies *Ariſtophanes* *, and if that caſe were thus when the *Mother* was a ſtranger, how juſt a cauſe had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did.

* L.3 c.6.

* In Avib.

Παῖδές τ' ἐπακτῷ, κ' αὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενὴς
Μηδὲν κ' ἀλλὰ ὢν κακὸς ἔσομαι.

a Eurip. v. 591.

I of a forraine Father baſely borne,
No body ſhall be counted, and forlorne.

But if the father were a Prince, or ſome great Potentate (if we may believe *Euſtathius* upon b *Homer* concerning *Teucer* who was a *nothus* himſelf) being *well* born he muſt needs be *lawfully* borne, and ſo he was held in as great eſteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *conſuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam Vxorẽ non habentes aliquã licet captivã tamen pro legitimâ haberent, ut liberi ex ipſâ nati ſuccederent*, ſaies *Servius*: whereas the other muſt be pop'd along with a *portion* only of a thouſand *drachmæ* at the moſt. * this portion they called τὰ νοθεῖα, that which they had in the nature of gifts, like the מתנות which c *Abraham* gave to the ſons of *his* concubines. it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *minæ* ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Iupiters* baſtard by *Alcmæna* the Wife of *Amphitryon*) when *Piſtheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could

b Il. 8.

* Harpoc.

c Gen.25.c.6.

could not lay claime to the leaſt part of his fathers eſtate, makes anſwer thus.

Τὶ δ' ἰῶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐμοὶ δῶ τὰ χρήματα
Τὰ τοῦδε.

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law againſt that. but the tother reply'd againe, and confuted his anſwer, by urging *Solons* Law, which order'd indeed, that the *nothi* ſhould μετεῖναι τ χρημάτων, have the eſtate ſhar'd among them in portions, but it muſt be only for default of legitimate children, and not otherwiſe. this Law is mention'd by *Demoſthenes* in his ſpeech περὶ Μακάρτατον. 3ly Ὁ Σκότος an *obſcure* ſonne, whoſe Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*, as if he were nothing but *terræ filius*, riſing out of the ground like the *wind*; or as if he were *begotten of the wind*, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the helpe of a Father; like the egges which they call ἀνεμώμα, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* ἀνεμώμον παῖδα, becauſe they fain'd him to be *borne* of *Juno*, but *begot* of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom. 4. Ὁ παρθενίας ὢν πως ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς εἰς παρθένου νόμῳ συνοικήσας ἐπιήσατο, ſaies *Pollux*, a Sonne borne in Wedlock, of a woman with child when ſhe married, whom the Husband took for a Maide. to theſe may be added 1. ὁ εἰσποιητὸς, or ὁ θετὸς, a ſonne not begotten but made, or adopted, of whom (it may be) I ſhall ſpeak more anon. 2ly Ἐλεύθερος *liber*, whoſe father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus*, *made free*, and 3ly ἐξελεύθερος *ingenuus*, the ſonne of ἀπελεύθερος. any ſonne begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the only belov'd, they uſually calld * πλούσιον.

* l. Poll.

CAP.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is ſaid of Greece, that it took the beſt courſe in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the World, in ſo much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Κυρτόφος, by way of excellence above the reſt, but how is it then that Homer gives the ſame to *Ithaca* as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus?* In *Ariſtophanes* his *Theſmophoriazuſæ* the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to ſacrifice to ſuch and ſuch Gods, among the reſt brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κυρτοφόρῳ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῇ here be *Tellus* in generall, the Mother and the Nurſe of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica Athens*, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the beſt Nurſe of the *beſt*, I know not: but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Erichonius* the poore expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgemeet of his education in that land, firſt ſacrific'd to this Γῆ Κυρτόφος, and having built an Altar of purpoſe to her, made a Law that whoſoever would ſacrifice to any other god, ſhould πάντῃ πρώτῃ, doe it to her firſt. well let us ſee a little what their manner of education was. they ſay the children were uſually taught πρῶτον κολυμβᾶν, δεύτερον ϗ γράμματα, *firſt to ſwimme, and dive, and then to read.* very good method. If the Father was poore, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philoſophy, Muſick, Gymnicall exerciſes, hunting and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in caſe his Father ſhould come to poverty, he was not bound to maintaine * him, as otherwiſe he was. Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintained by the greater ſort, in a luſtfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were cal'd their ἀκόλουθοι *Pages*. all ſuch *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were uſually call'd * παῖδες, though I know

* *Plut. in Solon.*

* *Heſych.*

kuow, πῶλος, and σκυμνὸς too, are frequently uſed by *Sophocles* and others, inno ill meaning at all.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Caſtigatione, &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and ſtubborne in committing a fault, the beſt means the Mother could uſe to perſwade him to leave it, was to ſhew him her breſts, ὡσεὶ χερσὶν ἱκετείας, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as the moſt powerfull motive ſhe had. but the Fathers and the Maſters took another courſe with them. if a boy had deſerv'd to be whipt, he ſhould be ſure enough of his wages from *them*, for they ty'd him faſt, τῷ ξύλῳ, to make him *kiſſe the poſt*, or τῷ παλῷ, *to a ſtake*, or *a pinne*, and ſo whipt him. and thus to be puniſhed they call'd it διαπαλαΐζειν. Διαπαλαΐσαι χαμαὶ, ſaies he in * *Ariſtophanes*, which is rendred by *Friſchlin Diſtentus affigere humi*, as if they ſtretcht him out every way as much as they could, and ty'd his neck, and armes, and legges, to pinnes faſtned in the ground for that purpoſe, to keep him from ſtriving. I know not whether this were the ſame which they call'd * τυμπανίζειν, or ὑποτυμπανίζειν, but I think that to have been rather the ſtretching, or pulling of the skinne, only *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tite as that in a drumme, of which perhaps the Poet ſpeaks when he ſaies, Ἡ βύρσα σῦ δερατύσει, from the δέρω, or the ſtoole, whereon they ſtretcht him or beat him, as they would a skinne or a hide. that torture of one of the ſeaven brethren in the * *Maccabees*, pulling his skinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither, and indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympaniſmum*, to have been a torture or a rack exerciſed upon any by Tyrants, rather then a puniſhment of boyes and children by their Maſters. for ſo *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond book of his * Rhetoricks, ſaies that *Antiphon*

* *In Equit.*

* *Ep. ad Hebr.* c.11.v.35.

* *L.2.c.7.v.7.*

* *L.2.c.8.l.38.*

tiphon the Poet, was us'd by *Dionyſius* the Tyrant. and in the ſixth * Chapter of the ſame book, ſpeaking of the want of all feare, in ſuch as had already ſuffer'd the extremity of evills, he inſtances in thoſe that are thus us'd, ὡσπερ οἱ ἀπὸ τυμπανίζομενοι. and ſo *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cryes out upon thoſe flatterers of *Ptolomee*, that τυμπανίζοντος, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durſt not open their mouthes to diſſwade him. but yet I believe alſo, that there was an eaſier kind of τυμπανισμὸς, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called τύμπανα, (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they ſuffer'd, for the Scholiaſt on theſe words of *Ariſtophanes* in *Pluto* Ω τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνες --- ſaies both ἐφ' οἷς, *on* which, and οἷς *with* which they beat him) & that boyes were puniſhed with ſuch a thing, I have cauſe to think. from theſe words of *Plutarch* ἀπὸ τυμπανιεῖ τὸ παιδίον &c. but to returne to the puniſhment with the *Paſſalus*, I know the word πάτταλος in that Poet, is more often uſed to expreſſe another manner of handling a man, by any body elſe as well as a Maſter, for inſtance in *Theſmophoriazuſæ*, when one kept a great deale of noyſe and would not be ſilent, another threatens him to put a πάτταλον in his mouth.

----- ἐμβαλῶ σοι
Πάτταλον ἐς τὸ μὴ σιωπᾶς.

Where the Scholiaſt ſaies he alluded to the trick (uſed with us alſo) of thruſting a ſtick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would ſee whether it had τὴν χαλάζαν, the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no; nay in the Poet himſelfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to uſe another in this very manner. that faſhion of tying the boyes to a ſtake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themiſtius*, under the name of σφενδονοπαταλευτὴς, in his firſt Oration, where ſpeaking of a *Plagoſus Orbilius*, that uſed to *pay* the poore and Fatherleſſe children to the purpoſe, becauſe they could pay him no better, ſaies he, παιδεία λυσιτελὴ σφενδονοπαταλευτὴν, &c. and ſo *Prometheus*, whom

* T. 243

the gods ty'd to *Caucasus-hill* for ſtealing fire, is ſaid by *Menander*, to have been περιπαταλαδμένον, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks

Εἶτ' ὁ δικαίως περιπαταλαδμένον
Τεκμαίρει ἢ περιπλοκὰς πρὸς ἢ πίτρας.

Where he prettily pleads his cauſe, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for ſo ſmall a matter. Nay the power of a Father over the child went farther yet. for firſt, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it unleſſe it were found in the act of adultery) any one might ſell his Child when he * pleas'd. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱὸν, * *abdicare filium ſuum*, turne him out of dores, but not till the Judges had the hearing of the cauſe, ſaies * *Demoſthenes*, and then the Κήρυξ, or the Cryer went about, and cry'd that ὁ δεῖνα, ſuch a one did deny τὸν δεῖνα, ſuch a one to be his Sonne any longer. he that was thus uſed was ſaid ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ γένους, to be ejected out of the Family, & was call'd ἀποκήρυκτος: if he were received into favour againe, he was ſaid ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος, to be taken into the family againe, and then he could never be abdicated any more.

*Plut. in Sol.

* *Lucian.*

* περὶ Βοίωτον.

CAP. XII.

De aſcriptione in Φρατρίας.

THE Sonnes when they came to be three years old at the ſooneſt, and ſeaven at the lateſt, were carried by their Fathers to the φράτορες, and regiſtred in the Tribe. but before they could be regiſtred, the Fathers were to take their Oaths that the Children were theirs: and yet notwithſtanding the oathes, thoſe heads of the Tribe if they liſted, might queſtion the matter, and put them to a ſuit in * Law. the time on which this was uſually done, was the third day of the Feaſt Ἀπατούρια, which was ſo called, either according

* Demoſt. περὶ Μακαρτ.

ing to the Etymologicall dictionary, becauſe the ſons which before might be thought ἀπάτορες (), to have no Father, did now make it appeare who the father was. or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, becauſe at that feaſt, ὅτε πατέρες καὶ οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the Fathers met all together, and ſo it muſt be call'd Απατούρια, juſt as a Wife is calld, ἄλοχος, for ὁμόλεκτος or ἄκοιτις, for Ὁμόκοιτις, where A is ἐπιτατικὸν, and not a privative, as in ἄπτηνὸς, and many other ſuch words. The third day of the feaſt was call'd by the name of Κυρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρεῖν, as who would ſay, a *Shearing-feaſt*, becauſe at that time they uſed to cut their haire. the haire which they cut they called μαλλὸν, or σκολλὸν, or θριξὶν πρόκομον, in oppoſition to πανδημόριος, that which they cut at a funerall. this lock (as I think it was) they had nouriſh'd of purpoſe till that time, and conſecrated to the honour of one of their gods, as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himſelfe: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing elſe to diſſwade him, but to tell him it was ſacred (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*)

a Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

And thus *Theſeus* is ſaid to have conſecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut becaùſe it was the firſt time that ever they cut it, and becauſe it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμης ἀπαρχὰς, *the firſt fruits* of the haire, (for the word both Engliſh, Greeke, and Hebrew, is appliable to any thing that is firſt) ſuch firſt fruits of his Beard b *Nero* put into a golden boxe, which he adorned with precious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol. If the children were of a Noble bloud, they would goe as farre as *Delphos* to give it *Apollo*. but if others, ſome to one god and ſome to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were gods enough of conſcience) At Rome beſides *Apollo*, whom ſtill one or other was carefull to ſupply (notwithſtanding his own *Intonſum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

L. 1. Ελλην.

* *Numb.* 6. v. 5.

a *Eurip. in Bacch.* v. 494.

b *Sueton. c.* 12. *ejus vitæ.*

Hos tibi Phœbe vovet totos avertice crines. *Martial.*

Aeſculapius was rememberd too, for *Statius* ſpeaks of one *Earinus*, that ſent his haire to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious boxe beſet with jewels, and a looking-glaſſe beſides,

----- *dulceſq; capillos*
Pergameo poſuit dona ſacrata deo.

Mart.Ep. 9.

How was it then that the Veſtall Virgins hung up theirs upon a tree, which *Feſtus* ſaies they kept for the purpoſe, by the name of *Capillaris*? the Nuns the Veſtall Virgins of theſe times have no ſuch need, they have gods and Saints enough, & to one of them they beſtow a love-lock for entrance, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is aſſerted by ſome, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and diverſe others ſay, that this regiſtring in the Tribe-book, and that which they call'd the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enrolling of them into the Ἀνδρικὸν γραμματεῖον at eighteene, according to that of *Pauſanias in Eliacis*, where he ſaies, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. but as yet I dare be ſo bold as to be of a contrary mind, for firſt, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, ſaies that when they went to be regiſtred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, three or foure years old, and there is my authority. 2ly *Cnemon* in *Heliodorus*, ſaith he was regiſtred as ſoone as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been ſooner then at fifteen year old: and there is my example. 3ly It is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Regiſtring, they offer'd up the *firſt-fruits* of their haire, and it is not likely they ſhould let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reaſon. but *Si quid noviſti rectius &c.* it is all one to me.

CAP.

CAP. XIII.

De aſcriptione in Epheborum cenſum, & in album Lexiarchicum.

WHen they came to be eighteen yeares old, ἐγράφοντο εἰς ἐφήβους, they were liſted among the number of thoſe that were ἔφηβοι *puberes*; and to this purpoſe they had certain Officers appointed to ſearch them, to ſee whether they were ſo or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they call'd it) φρουρεῖν τὴν χώραν τὴν περὶ πόλιν, to keep Gard, or doe ſervice in the Citty (of which hereafter) This ſearch or examination was call'd Ἡ Δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *puberes*, ſound wind and Limb, and like to prove Souldiers, they were led into the Temple of *Agraulus*, where they took a ſolemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon Κυρεώτης too, and that may be the occaſion of the difference I lately ſpake of. neither were theſe later rites perform'd without cutting of haire too: but commonly the faſhion was, either then, or at any other time but the firſt, to conſecrate their haire, not to this or that god, but to the rivers, eſpecially ſuch as belonged to the Country they liv'd in τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποτάμοις. thus much may be gathered from [b] *Peleus* his *vow* to conſecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* return'd in ſafety, and [c] *Memnon's* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus* ſo as *Paul* ſhav'd his hair at *Cenchrea* upon the like occaſion. The Nazarites when *they* cut their *haire of* * *conſecration*, were to make uſe of the contrary Element, & to throw it in the fire. but amongſt the Greeks the cuſtome of paying tribute of their haire, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cauſe of life and growth) was very uſuall both with Men and Women, eſpecially in times of mourning, when they cut it moſt. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where ſhe bemoans the condition of the

* *Schol. in* Hom. Il. Ψ.
[b] *Pauſan. in Att.*
[c] *Philoſtr.*
* Acts 18. 18.
* Num. c. 6.

poore *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the Warre, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

a Eurip. Helen v.372.

a Ἀπὸ δ' παρθένοι κόμας
Ἔθεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν
Σκαμάνδειον ἀμφὶ ῥεῦμα ὄνδμα.

Unleſſe you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephebi*) they firſt took a veſſell of Wine (μέθυον οἶνον, ſaies *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called τὰ οἰνιστήρια from the Wine. and here it may not be amiſſe, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poets, of two ſeverall waies of cutting of their haire, in uſe among the Greeks. the one was κῆπος, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a *garden*: the other called σκάφιον, when they ſhav'd it ſo cloſe to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two years *puberes*, ὀπαδεῖς ἡβῶντες, (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty year old, εἰς ἄνδρας ἀναγεγράφθαι *they wrote men*, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his Ληξιάρχικον λευκωμα, *in Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all thoſe that belong'd to his *Demus*; it had this name ἀπὸ τῆς λήξεως, (or τῆς κλήρου) ἀρχῆς, becauſe as ſoone as any ones name was written therein, he might be maſter of an eſtate himſelfe if he had it. Beſides this book, there was πινάκιον πύξινον, a table of Box wood, wherein every one was to ſet downe, of what *Demus* or village he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the Women, they were not wont to be entred into any Tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepſion*.

CAP.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to age, or neceſſity, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſſe he were a *nothus* or had not been bred up to a calling) he might be ſerv'd with a Writ ἀ κακώσεως τῶν γονέων, and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill, and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not only to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, to whom he ow'd his education, and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτήρια, and θρεπτήρια, or τροφεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta*. this debt they reckond themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and griev'd for nothing ſo much, as to dye before it was paid, according to that in the Poet *Iliad* Σ.

----- ὃς δὲ τοκεῦσι
Θρεπτήρι' ἀπίδωκε μινυνθάδιός περ ἐὼν
Ἔπλετ' ----- rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus. [a] L. 6.

----- *nec reddita charo*
Nutrimenta patri: brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the Parent might very well ſay to his children [b] *Non eſt beneficium, quod paſcitis; ſed facinus, quod negatis.* And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have found them for the moſt part, very carefull to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home againe, the Daughters themſelves, preſently fell to waſhing his feet, and annointed them with oyle, ὅπως ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχωσι τοῦ γήρατος, ſaith the Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron.* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had us'd the Epithete [b] *Quintil. decl.6.*

[a] *In Ariſtoph. Veſp.*

Epithete Λιπαρεῖ for the feet, in allusion to the annointing: (it may be) they used to kisse them too (as *Thee* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes*.

----- ἡ θυγάτηρ μὲ ἡ δυσάτηρ
Ἀπονίζῃ, καὶ τῶν ποδ' ἀλείφῃ καὶ περικύψασα φιλήσῃ.

For the children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκεῖν, and so *Medea* uses the word to her children at parting.

* *Eurip. Med. v. 133.*

---- ἔχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν, γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμέ.

Next to the charges of maintaining the parent when he is old, are those of burying him when he is dead, and those to be borne by the Sonne too: and therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in *his* roome, which being then very old, he must shortly leave in his owne, *well* (saies he) *I am to be reckon'd but a dead man, and you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now.*

a *Idem in Alcest. v. 664.*

a Οἱ γηροβοσκήσουσι καὶ θάψουσί σε
Περισταλέντα, καὶ προθήσουσ' ἐκτόπου.
That will you *feed*, and shrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man so neere his end. we will shew him what course he is to take for the disposing of his estate, only because if he should have no children at all, or none such as they should be, there might be a doubt what to doe, I will speak a word of that first.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, testamento, & hæreditate.

* *Isæ. de Aristarch.*

IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, free borne, he had power* to adopt him a *nothus*, or

or any one elſe, and this was to be done after the manner of a Will, ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of a Magiſtrate, as their Willes were wont to be. Whoſoever was thus adopted, muſt be firſt made free of the City, and then be aſcrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him, but this laſt was to be done upon the feaſt of Θαργήλια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to returne to it againe, 'till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans eſtate, it paſſed to another, either κατὰ γένος *by deſcent*, or κατὰ διαθήκην, *by virtue of a will*. now by *Solons* laws (for before, the eſtate could not be convey'd but to thoſe of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire, of any eſtate that he had which was not in controverſy: but with theſe ſix qualifications. First, he himſelf muſt be no Foole nor Mad man. 2ly No priſoner, ſo as to make his will againſt his will, for then it could be no will. 3ly No ſtranger, for then his eſtate went to the common treaſure. 4ly No adopted man, for ſuch a ones eſtate (if he wanted a child, was to paſſe to the * next of the Adopters kindred. 5ly Not perſwaded thereunto by his Wife, for ſuch a one (ſaies my * author) μιλάγχολον ἀνήν, is little better then a mad man. 6ly Not having a male child of his owne; for then the inheritance ſhould goe to him. and if there were more Males then one, they were to be ἰσόμοιροι, *coparceners*, or *joynetenants*. but in caſe he had no male child at all, and dyed without a Will, the eſtate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had were not γνήσιοι, free-borne and legitimate, the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μητροπάτορι, ſole heire: and therefore he in *Ariſtophanis Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not poſſibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Iupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate ſons.

Demoſt.

Demoſt. ad Leocrat.

* *Id. cont. Olympiodorum.*

--- πῶς ἂν ποτε
Ἐπίκληρος ἦν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀθηνᾶ δοκεῖς

Οὗτος συγκατὴρ ὅστις ἀπλησθῆν γυναικὸς.

I ſay this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond μέδιμνον κριθῶν, ſix buſhells, (they ſay it is) or the value of ſuch a meaſure of Barly. He to whom the eſtate did paſſe, by what way ſoever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretour, which thing they called κληρῶν ἐπὶ κλήρου, or ὁμολογίαν τῷ κλήρῳ, and if any one would παραγράφεσθαι, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to proſecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I ſhall therefore endeavour to ſhew him how to have that done too in the ampleſt manner. only firſt, I will ſatisfy him of the neceſſity of having a buriall.

Iſeus de Ariſtarch.

Demoſt. contr. Stephan.

CAP. XVI.

De neceſſitate ſepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in his *Topicks*, divides juſtice into three kindes, *unam ad ſuperos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem.* of the ſecond kind of juſtice viz. to the dead I doe find every where among the anciente ſo religious a care, and ſuch a ſacred eſteeme of a buriall, that Sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rites of a funerall acknowledged to be τὰ θεῖα by the Greeks, as well as *juſta* by the Latins, inſomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance, upon the carcaſe of another, whoſoever it were, he ſhould be bound to caſt earth upon it, three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe.

Aſhen. Var. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 14.

a Horace l. 1. Od. 28.

---- a *Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare ----

The Romans (it ſeems by *Quintilian Declam.* 5.) obſerved this

this cuſtome exceeding well, for (ſaies he) *Ignotis Cadaveribus humum congerimus & inſepultum quodlibet corpus nulla feſtinatio tam rapida tranſcurrit, ut non quantulocunq; veneretur aggeſtu*, and if any one omitted the duty, he muſt make ſatisfaction by ſacrificing a Sow pig, *porcam* [b] *præcidaneam* (as they call'd it) to *Ceres*. But the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther. ὁς γοῦν ἰδόντος ἄπαφον καὶ μὴ ἐπαμησάμενος κόνιν ἐναγὴς ἦν ὅλλυν. whoſoever ſaw a dead body, and did not turne up the duſt upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but ἐναγὴς, a *ſcelus*, an accurſed devoted fellow, *anathema*, *ſacer* (for what ſhould the body doe any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἄταφα μιάσματα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon * *Euripides*, and * *in Helen.* τὸν κατὰχθονίους θεὸς μὴ ἵλεως ἦν, very much fear'd that the gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. no greater imprecation to an enemy amongſt them, then ἀκήδευτος καὶ ἄθαπτος, that he *might not be coverd with the earth*. Mee thinkes I ſee * *Hector* upon his knees * *Homer.* to *Achilles*, as he was ready to ſtabbe him; and * *Ajax* in his * *Sopho.* prayers to *Iupiter* (before he fell upon his ſword) earneſtly beſeeching them not to ſuffer their bodies, when their ſoules were removed, to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the doggs and the birds*. Hence ſurely it was; that the ancients ſtood ſo much in feare of a death upon the Sea, or a ſhipwrack; becauſe of the death, for there they could never be interred,

Demite naufragium, & mors mihi munus erit.

Saies *Ouid*, inſomuch that when they went to Sea, or at leaſt when they fear'd to be *caſt away* (as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have loſt the body too) their cuſtome was to faſten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that ſhould find it, and bury it, if it were caſt a ſhore. φόρτον δοῦ τιμὴν ἐπάρσιον τὸν ἐν παραλίᾳ τυμβεῖν; ὁ δ' ἀστυχὴς καὶ καρδίνας νόμος ἀδεξιτίους αἰδίους, μὴ ἐχὶ μικρὸν τι μέρος ἐπιδόσεως τῇ χαλεπαμένῃ πολυπλάνου; ſaies *Syneſius* in

[b] *Feſtus c. 14*

one of his Epiſtles. Moreover not only if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as ſoone as poſſibly it could, it was counted μίασμά τι τῦ νεκρῦ; as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it μείλιγμά τι τῦ νεκρῦ, that they had done them a pleaſure. you have thoſe two words uſed by the Scholiaſt, upon that ſaying of *Homer. Iliad* 7.

----- ἔσπετε δαίμονες ἅτινες μεμισώκασιν ὧδε.

* *Alex. ab Alex. l. 3. c. 7.* *Patroclus* is ſaid to have been angry with *Achilles* for ſuch a delay; and how true it is which one ſaies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies, and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I doe not yet find.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocanda animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happineſſe of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country, inſomuch that if a Man died ſo farre from home, that they could not come to the *body*, they were wont with ſolemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, ἀναγαλλόμενα δὶς τὸν ψυχὸν. ---- *manes ter voce vocare.* to give a hollow for the *Soule*, which they thought was ſtill *quick* enough to come to *them*. a *Pindar* ſaies that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying, *Cholchis* deſir'd *Pelias* to ſee this office perform'd for him.

a *In Pyth. Od. 4.*

----- κἀλεῖ γὸ ἐὰ
Ψυχὰν κομίζαι φείξος ----

And ſo *Ulyſſes* after he had loſt threeſcore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, preſently made it his buſineſſe ſaies *Homer* ---- τρὶς ἕκαστον ἀΰσαι: to give a hoop for every one three times, as *Theocritus* ſaies of *Hylas*, τρὶς μὲ ὕλαν ἀΰσαι. in *Virgil* he is nam'd but twice.

Id. 13. Eclog. 6.

----- *Hylam nautæ quo fonte relictum*
Clamaſſent: ut littus Hyla, Hyla, omne Sonaret.

Doubt-

Doubtleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their *bodies* alſo might be rolled under ground, into their native Countrey, as ſome of the *Iewes* doe think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan*: and yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. for as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanis Ranis*, ſaies concerning the dead.

Οἷς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς κόρακας ἐξικνοῖτό σε.

They are gone ſo farre (ὅπου) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the man, unleſſe you can finger the carcaſſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. ſuch a Monument they called Κενοτάφιον, and to bury a man thus *en effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in * *Euripides*.

* *Helen.* v. 1562.

Οὐ τυμβεύσ' παῖς ἥδ' ἀπόντα κενοταφῆ;

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poet in *Hecuba*, gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Ἐνόμισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ εὐκλεεῖ τὰ καταδάφματα, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ ταφέντι, χῶσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῶν τὰ μνήμης, though the body were buried in another Countrey, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. *Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphium* Κενήσιον, from κεῖσθαι a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father.

b *Tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem*
Conſtitui ----
c *Progne* for *Philomela*.
----*& inane Sepulchrum*
Conſtituit------

b *Virg. Æn.* 6.
c *Ovid. l.* 6. *fab.* 8.

The *Pythagoreans* for thoſe *qui à Philoſophiâ ſuâ deſciviſſent*, (accounting them departed out of the life that had departed from the principles) The *Athenians* for all thoſe that dy'd upon the Sea.

Ὡς ὃ δανόντα σ' ἐνάλιον κενῷ τάφῳ
Θάψαι ------ ſaies the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. 'tis worth your labour to read the ſtory, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a ſuit of clothes in a

beere as if his body were there, and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. if it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τὶς δ' ἦν ὁ θάπτων τύμβος; ἢ ξένος σκιὰ;
Hel. Ἕλλην ἦν γὰρ, ὃς ἂν πύτμῳ θάνῃ
Theoc. Τί δ' ἔρξαν, σοφὸν τι πολεμήσαι τε τοιόνδε
Hel. Κενοῦσι θάλπος ἐν πόνοις ὑφάσμασιν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* beere in pompe, and a buriall in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the statelieſt manner that might be. for with this provision for his buriall he in * *Ariſtophanes* comforted himſelfe and his friend, ὁ Κεραμεικὸς ἄξιος γὰρ; what need I ſay more of this? it was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* ſaies *Et ſæpe in tumulis ſine corpore nomina legi.*

* *In Avibus.*

* *L.11. fab. 10.*

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri ſolebant.

THE cuſtomes uſed at *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end. *viz.* Violent, and Naturall. and firſt of the cuſtomes uſed in a violent death. If the man had kild himſelfe αὐτόχειρ, they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the reſt of the body, ſaies *Cel. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him ſo. In dying (or falling downe) Men and Women, but eſpecially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not diſcover any thing that was not to be ſeen, but εὐσχημόνως πεσεῖν, as *Euripides* ſaies of *Polyxena*. If another killd a man, he that kill'd him, if he thought that he had done it juſtly and in a good cauſe, though he waſhed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature) yet he uſed to take

take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up toward the Sun with the bloud on it, συμβολον τῶ ἡλίῳ προσδεικνύναι, (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he feard not if heaven were witneſſe, and all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly, inſteed of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the haire of the party ſlaine, ἅπερ ἀποξυπωζόμενοι τὸ μῦσος ἐν τῇ φόνῳ (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate and wipe away the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιος, and συγγενικὸς φόνος (as he ſaies) if the party were one of his owne Tribe or kindred, he could never wipe it ſo cleane, but ſome would ſtick, and therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided Amulets & ſpells to keep them off: and what better thing then a part of the body it ſelfe? for having that in their power as a hoſtage, to doe what they would with it, the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer, for love of the carriage; and therefore as ſoon as they had ſlaine him, they cut off all the extreme or outmoſt parts of the outmoſt members and ſewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. the extremities thus uſed they called ἀκρωτήρια, and ſo to uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, as they call'd it likewiſe, if they did but cut the topps of the eares when a man had committed a fault, ſaies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λοβάζειν from λοβὸς the lap of the eare, though that word, & λυμαίνεσθαι, be alſo uſed for as bad uſage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν, unles you will ſay this was properly ſaid to be done, when they kil'd the party quite. thoſe ἀκρωτήρια, are ſometimes call'd ἀπάργματα or ἐξάργματα, as in* *Apollonius*, where he ſpeaks of *Abſyrtus* his being thus uſed by his ſiſter *Medea*. *Soph. in Electr.*

l. 4.

Ἦρατ' Αἰσονίδαι ἐξάργματα τίμια θανόντι
Ἣ δίμυιε φιλοπτασίαις ἰλάασζ.

And ſometimes μαχαλίσματα from μαχαλίζειν, the ſame that ἀκρωτηριάζειν, becauſe oftimes thoſe pieces of the body

μασχάλας to your armholes. of which *Sophocles* ſpeaks thus

Ὑφ' ᾗς θανὼν ἄνομος ὥστε δυσμενὴς
Ἐμασχαλίσθη.

But if he had killd the man by trechery, he hung thoſe pieces about his neck, and taking ſome of the bloud ſpit three times in his mouth. This faſhion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noſes, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in uſe likewiſe among the Romans, not only upon men ſlaine (as *Quintilian* ſaies, *truncas partibus ſuis umbras*) but when they did not kill them outright, according to that in *Virgil Æn.6.*

Atq; hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manuſq; ambas, populataq; tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares.

That practice of *Adonibezeks* which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *acroteriaſmus*, as this was. *C.1. v.7.*

The uſuall puniſhments to be ſuffered by him that had kill'd another were theſe. if he had done it unwillingly, he muſt fly his own Country, and get into another, (as the Iſraelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) being there, he muſt betake himſelfe (ſaith the * Scholiaſt) εἰς τινὸς ὑψηλὸν ἀνδρὸς πυλὰς, into ſome great mans houſe that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not cõming as an ἱκέτης, or Petitioner,) and there ſet him cover'd by the hearth, (a place which they counted holy) καθαρσίων λήψεως, to expiate the fact, and purge himſelfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or Kinred, he muſt tarry out of the Countrey a whole yeare at the * leaſt. a *Euſtathius* ſaies anciently they ſuffer'd them ſometimes, to redeeme their liberty with a fine of two Talents of gold: but afterward it ſeems to have been otherwiſe, inſomuch that a Murtherer was not only forbid χθονὸς νόμῳ, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *participate in their Sacrifices*, but every body elſe (of his owne Countrey) was forbid to receive him into his houſe. nay they

Ioſhua c.20.
* *On Homer Il. O.*
* *Schol. in Eurip. Hippol.*
a *Il. 18.*

they might not be allowed to ſpeak to him, as thinking him ἀνόσιον κἀρα. ἔτα, ὦ, ſo unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* ſaies ὃ γὰ αὐδρ' αὐτὸν καλῶ. the Scholiaſt upon * *Homer*, out of *Callimachus* ſaies, that among the *Theſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave where the party was buried whom he had ſlaine; as *Eurydamus* did *Simon* for killing his brother *Thraſynus*. * Il. X.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulſandis æneis vaſis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the cuſtome among the Greekes, as well as among the Jewes and the Romanes, when a man was a dying, or his Sunne was a ſetting (as they uſed to ſay -- ἅλιον ἄμμι δύνειν) to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred, and they call'd it Σύγκλεισιν τῶν ὀμμάτων. the performance of this ceremony by the Kindred, was ſo much valued, that it was bewaild as a very great unhappineſſe, to dye in ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to doe it. as *Ulyſſes* ſaies Theocr. Il. O.

---- ὦ μοι γὰ πατὴρ ἠδ' ὁπότνια μήτηρ
Ὅσσε χαμαιρήσουσι θανόντι ----

If a man died ſuddainly αὐδάετο (ſaies the * *Scholiaſt* upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*; if a *Woman*, to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they had a cuſtome likewiſe to make a great ringing with veſſels of braſſe (Bells ſome render it) to fright away the Hobgoblings, and Furies from the Soule; for ſuch a kind of ſound (he ſaies) is καθαρὸς καὶ ἁπλανὴς τῶν μαρμάρων of a ſpeciall virtue for ſuch effects. but elſe I ſhould rather imagine it to have been done for the ſame end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but * Il. Δ.

dead a sleepe (not *dead and gone*) and so to awake him with the noyce, as they were wont to doe to the Moone in an Eclipse, when they thought her a sleepe. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cloth, and that by the next of the Kin too, for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his Father to doe it.

Eur. Hippol. v. 148. Κρύψον δέ μου σὺ πρόσωπον· ὡς τάχος πάλαι. And indeed the whole businesse of stretching out and shrowding the body, belong'd especially to the next of the Kin, and therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides* endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better then that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies that *they* having the happinesse to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

χεροῖν φίλαισιν ὧν ἔκλαυσ' ὑπό

Shrowded by whom they ought their Kin. If a Father or a Mother dyed a Widow, the Children did it, and so *Medea* tells her children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her selfe.

Eur. Med. v. 1035. Καὶ κατθανοῦσαν χερσὶν ἂν φίλαις ἐμαῖς. If a Husband dyed, the Wife did it; which happinesse the Greek Souldiers could not attaine if they dy'd at Troy.

Troad. v. 377

----- ὃ δύσμορος ἐν χερσὶν

Πόντιος συνεσάλπαζε.

If a brother, the Sister: which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians* a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully,

Id. Iphig. in Taur. Φίλ. πῶς ἂν μ' ἀδελφὰς χεῖρ' ἐσεισάλλει ἄν.

Alack! how shall my Sister shrow'd me now!

CAP. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

[a] *In vita Sylla.* THE body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, as those that are dead are called ἱερὸν by [a] *Plutarch*, and the

the graves themſelves ἀγνὰ νεία by *Lycophron*, as ſoon as the body was in. Sacred I ſay, that is not to be injur'd, farre enough from holy, inſomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νεκρῦ δίγη χίσιν (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any holy thing after, till he had waſh'd, as ἀγνὸς as a Jew. *Toucht* did I ſay; when *Hippolitus* lay a dying *Diana* would not ſo much as ſtay to ſee him dead for feare of pollution.

Καὶ χαῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰ ὁ δύμος φθιτὸν δέξαν, *Eur. Hipp. v.*
Οὐδ' ὄμμα χραίσειν θανασίμοισιν ἐκπτοαῖς. 1437.

The ſame may be ſaid of the graves, ἀσφάλειον πάφον, ſaies *Heſiod*; for ἀγνὰ they were not, but only in this ſence, that they were ἀκίνητα, not to be medled with, as ſome would have it to be meant by that of the ſame Poet

Μηδ' ἐν ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν ----.

Inſomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Queſt.* ſaies that thoſe men that out of Pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pompe before they dy'd, were not fit to beare the name of ἀγνοὶ themſelves. The whole performance of the ceremonies uſed to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Aeſchylus*) συγκομιδὴ, as the *elation* or carrying it forth was called ἐκκομιδὴ. the ceremonies were theſe. firſt they took a piece of mony above a halfe-peny ('twas dearer there then at Rome) & put it into his mouth (*then* you will ſay there was *bos in Lingua*) to ſpeake his *fare* to the πορθμεύς, or Ferriman *Charon*. the piece of mony wss called by the name of λαυάκη, becauſe it was given τοῖς λαυαῖς, which ſignifies the dead, from λαὸς dry, becauſe of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite

--- ἕως ἀν λάβω λίθον) ſaies that there was a ſtone which the Poets fain'd to be ἐν ἄδου, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Auænus* διὰ τὸ αὖος τοὺς νεκροὺς εἶναι, *becauſe the bodies of the dead muſt needs be as dry as duſt.*

Together with the mony, they threw in a morſell of pud-

ding or paſt, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. it was uſually made of flower temper'd with hony (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελιττοῦτα. μετ' ὀπτῆς ἐδίδοτο τοῖς τεθνεῶσι ὡς εἰς τὸν Κέρβερον, ſaies *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Aeneas* is ſaid to have given him when he viſited the dead.

Æn. 6

Melle Saporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit.

Metam. l 6. *Apuleius* ſpeaks of more pieces then one *offas polentæ mulſo concretas*, and ſaies they were to carry a piece in each hand. the * *Ariſtophan.* Poet in * *Luſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number

---- σοῦν ὠνήσει
Μοιττοῦττλαν ἐγὼ καὶ δυμάξω.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtome in thoſe words of his in pace.

ὕτ' ἄλφιτ' ὄπτ' τυρὸν ὡς ἀπολύμενος.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceaſed were free of the Citty, the κατατὸν (you may render it *Pollinctiores*) took out his bowells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body, as thoſe * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper roome*. This Ἄντρα παννύχια (as *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in a *Plato*) when heintended to drinke his owne death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelfe afore hand, and ſave the Women a labour: Ὥρα τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ λοῦσθαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, ἢ μὴ πράγματα παρέχειν γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν, which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when he intended to dye for her Husband, ſaies the Poet

* *Acts c.9. v.37.*

Enrip. v.157. Electræ.

a *In Phædone.*

Poet. [b] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἥδε' ἡμέρα ἦν ἐπέκυρσεν
Ἧκεσεν ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χρόα
Ἔλουσε

When she perceiv'd the day appointed neere,
She wash'd her selfe in river water cleere.

[b] Eurip. Alc. v. 116.

In allusion to this custome * Iphigenia in her dreame, fell a washing of one of the Pillars of the ruined house, which she fancied to see.

[a] apud Eurip.

Ὑδρεύετον αὐτὸν ὡς θανόμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Sonne, and concluding the death of that Sonne by the washing of the pillar. to this washing (it may be) alludes that expression of *Strepsiades* to his sonne in *Aristophanis nubibus*

Ὥσπερ τεθνεῶτος καταλέλουμαι τὸν βίον.

He *casteth aspersions upon my life, and washeth me as if I were dead.*

This work was indeed proper to the Women: but in case of necessity others might serve; and therefore in [c] *Galen* you shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poore *Theagenes*, because he had neither Wife, nor Child, nor chick of his own to doe it. Having washed the body, they annointed it with ointments, and powred *Ambrosia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* saies *Jupiter* bid them doe to *Sarpedon*.

[c] De Method. Medendi l. 13. c. 15.

Χεῖσαι τ' ἀμβροσίῃ ----- Il. 11.

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other friend for the purpose: having also τὰς κειρίας, bands or lists of cloth, to tye the hands, and the feet withall, such as * *Lazarus* had: *Feralibus amiculis obstrictus*, saies * *Apuleius*. The colour of the shrowd (if my memory faile not) was white amongst the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

Homer. Odyss. 1.

* Iohn. c. 11. v. 44.

* Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis, de coronis quibus corpora ornabantur de lecto & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloth'd him with his Winding-ſheet, and his πίλα, next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐστέφετο τῆς νεκρῆς ὁ κέφανος, ὡς τὸν βίον δυναμισμένοις, ſaith *Suidas*, as they would doe to one that had runne out his race, or fought it out: and with the like ſignification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for cakes were given for rewards as well as Garlands. In alluſion to theſe Garlands *Euſtathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Sonne, makes him ſay, πῶς σε κεφαλεφανώσω τοῖς δάκρυσιν: how ſhall I *crowne* thee with my teares! an example of this practice you may ſee in *Euripides*, where *Talthybius* ſpeaks to *Hecuba* to doe it to *Aſtyanax* in the abſence of his Mother.

L. 10. *Iſm.*

Eur. Troad. v. 1143.

---- πάλοισιν ὡς πορεύσιμος νεκρὸν
Στέφανοῖς δ' ὅσοι σὺ δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

Artem. l. 1. c. 14.

After they had done this they ſet him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate, as being never to put his foot in the houſe againe. then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὸ λέχος) to be in a readineſſe to be carried to his bed, for ſo *Lycophron* calls the grave δύναστειον, as it is likewiſe term'd κοιμητήριον, and ſo the dead are called εὐδοντες, and κατακοιμοι μίμνοι, for death is a long ſleepe, as ſleepe is a ſhort death. The couch was alſo adorn'd with Garlands made of all ſorts of Hearbs and flowers, (as * *Euripides* ſaies) ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φέρει βλαστήματα, but eſpecially of Olive, which they uſed in victories: having thus adorned it, the *plac'd it*, or *ſet it forth* at the doores as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was, ---- ἀνὰ προθύροισι τετεγμένον.

* In Hel.

This placing of him they called προτίθεσις, *collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alceſtis*.

---- ἢ περὶ σοῦ νεκροῦ.

During the θόρυβος, and all the time till the ἐκφορὰ (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth *efferebatur* ἐξεκομίζετο as St *Luke* ſaith (whether out of the houſe or the City) there * ſtood at the dore, a great earthen veſſell fil'd with water, which they fetcht from another houſe, for the people to waſh in that came in and out. This veſſell is called by *Heſychius* λάγηνα, by *Pollux* ἄρδανον, and by *Ariſtophanes* ὄγραον, in that * place where he ſpeaks of the λήκυθοι too, that is the Pots for the oyntments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewiſe of ſtrewing of *Origanum* (they ſay it is for good hearts *origanum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what uſe I know not, unleſſe it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or elſe to make the Torches of them: for of ſuch ſtuffe Torches were commonly made, as *Euſtathius* ſaies ὁ φανὸς was ἢ ἐκ κληματίδων λάμπας (and ſo our Poet in *Luſiſtrate* calls it ἀμπέλου φανὸν) pray take his own words for the great pot of Water, the leſſer pots of ointment, and the Vine-branches too.

Euripi.

C. 7. v. 11.

In Eccleſ.

Τποτόρσαι νυῦ πρῶτα τ' ὀρίζάνυ
Κὴ κλήμαθ' ὑπόδυ συγκλάσασατίθεις
Κἠταὶ ἰώσαι ἢ φιδάδυ τὰς ληκύθυς
Ὕδατὸς τε κατάδυ τὄγραον πρὸ τ' δύρας.

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alceſtis* [verſe 99. one makes a doubt whether the Woman were indeed buried as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe he could not ſee any Spring-water πηγαῖον χέρνιβα (as he calls it, for ſuch it ſhould be) ſtanding at the doore as the cuſtome was.

The Waſhing it ſelfe was called λούεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, like the Iſraelites βαπτίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ; which we read of in *Eccleſiaſticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans uſed *Suffitionem*, a perfuming of the houſe; for they thought the whole houſe polluted, where there lay but a dead body in the wall, and ſo did the Greekes too, as may appeare by thoſe words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

Καθαρὰ

a Eurip. Hel. v. 1446.

a Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ' ἐστὶ κοὐδὲν
Ψυχῶν ἀφῖκται Μενέλεως ----

Our houſe is cleane, for *Menelaus* here
Loſt not his life. ----

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THE beſt time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day and not in the night, and this I gather'd by thoſe words in the Poet, wherein *Caſſandra* the Fortune-teller, threatning *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in night (clean contrary to the judgement of many now a daies, who make it an honour for the better ſort) ſaies ſhe

b Id. in Troad. v. 446.

b Κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ νυκτὸς, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sun riſing,

Il. Π. ---- ὡς ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠὼς.

(ſaies *Homer* in the funerall of *Hector*) at break of day, up the corps is mounted, and carried along moſt bravely

c De Luctu. ὥσπερ ὀχούμενον καὶ ἐπαιρόμενον (ſaies * *Lucian*) in pompe, as if it were intended for a ſhew. now it was carri'd (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Homer*) οὐκ ὀπὶ ὀρχάτου τινός, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. but upon mens ſhoulders up aloofe ἄρσιν, as *Euripides* calls it, ſpeaking of *Alceſtis*, where he ſpeaks alſo of θεράποντες Servants (I ſhould have thought the bearers had been ſome of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

a Eurip. Alc. v. 607.

---- a θεράποντες
Φέρουσιν ἄρσιν θεῖς τάφον τε, καὶ πυρὰν.

In the like ſence he uſes the word φορεῖσθαι in another Tragedy; where ſpeaking of *Rheſus* his being *trudg'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpſichore*, when *Ulyſſes* had ſlaine him,

Τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χεροῖν

φορεῖσθαι

Φορεῖσθαι πέμπει ----

If the party dy'd of a violent death, eſpecially in a fight, they uſed to carry forth Speares, and other armes and armour along with the corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funerall of *Pallas*

---- *Hoſtam alii, galeamq́; ferunt* ---

And it is likely they held thoſe Speares at the wrong end too, as the cuſtome is with us at the buriall of a Souldier, and as *they* did then

---- *& verſis Arcades armis.*

As the corps was a carrying forth of the Porch, it ſeems that they uſed ſome ſpeech or other, as to the party deceaſed either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernall gods to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure; for it may well be conjectur'd by the words of *Admetus* to the People of *Phera* concerning his Wife.

a Τιμᾶς γ' ἅπ' αὐτὴν ἔστιν, ὡς νομίζεις· — a *Eurip. Alc.* v. 608.
Πομπεύσατ' ἐξιοῦσαν ὑστάτῳ δόμων.

Thoſe that accompanied the coarſe, and were invited to the funerall, ſometimes went on foot, (if it were one they honour'd very much) and ſometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick * perſon, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorn'd with Garlands. in going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walke ſtately before the corps, and the * Women (but not unleſſe they were threeſcore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πένθος about her, whatſoever that was. * *Diog. Laert.* l. 10. * *Demoſt. ad Macart.*

CAP. XXIV.

De Ministerio Funerarum & Siticinum.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jewes had [a] מקוננות, and the Romans *Præficas*, so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance. ἀοιδούς, or θρήνων ἐξάρχους, as * Homer calls them, or παιωνιστὰς as *Nonnus*. And since vocall Musick might be allow'd, I marvell very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any Instrumentall, either with the Harpe or the pipe.

[a] See Ierem. c. 9. v. 17.

* Il. Ω.

Eurip. Alc. v. 430.

Ἀυλῶν δ' μὴ κατ' ἄεν, μὴ λύρας κπύρθ-
Ἔξω ----

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of mounting up the Soule into the Heavens, the originall of all harmony; according to that of * *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoq; ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum institutum sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus animæ ad originem dulcedinis musicæ, id est ad cœlum redire creditur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing πρὸς λύρην, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*, for *Pæan's* and such merry songs (as the reason is given by a Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phœnissæ*, Ἀλυρὸν δὲ μοῦσαν) but for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might sing πρὸς αὐλὸν, for else why were there τυμπανῶται Pipers among them, as there were *Siticines* among the Romans?

As many as came to the Funerall, brought along with them † κόσμον, one fine thing or other to carry in their hands or to put upon the coarse: such as *Admetus* in [a] *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

[a] In Alc. v 630.

Κόσμον δ' τὸν σὸν ὔπορ' ἡ δ' εὐδύσα.

Thy

I have ſome cauſe to think that ſome of thoſe κόσμοι which they carri'd, were the *Images* and the *Armes* of the family of the party deceaſed: (for ſuch they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. and if ſo, then thoſe περιπόμπων ἀγάλματα * (neere the place above quoted) ſaid to be carried by thoſe which followed the corps, may be tranſlated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. or if it muſt needs be *grata munera*, it muſt be meant to the gods of the dead, and not the dead themſelves.

* *Ib. de v.* 612.

But yet after all this, you may doe well to take notice, of a great deale of difference in the Pompe, according to the age of the party deceaſed. for ſuch as had more age, had more honour then others, and therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceſtis*) of a great deale more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger ſort, he replyed, by no meanes; for

Καὐ γραῒς ὅλῃ), πλείοσι ταφήσῃ).

If old ſhe dye ſhe ſhall be richly buried.

And here becauſe I have ſuch an occaſion given me, before I goe any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the cuſtomes uſed in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and firſt of the cutting of the haire.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occaſion of ſorrow and *baldneſſe* (as the *Hebrews* ſay) uſed to cut their haire ἐν χάῳ (as they cal'd it) or to ſhave it cloſe to the skin. for ſo much may be gather'd by thoſe words of *Liſias* (cited by *Ariſtotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his ſpeech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the

* *L. 3. c. 10.*

Persians at Salamis, saies he. ἄξιον ὦν τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἔρημον γενέσθαι τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτησάντων ἀνδρῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. *It had been no lesse then desert, if all Greece had been shav'd at the buriall of those gallant souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the *Cyclopians* to doe the like.

---- ἀκεῖτο δ' Κυκλωπία
Σίδηρον ὅτι κεφαλᾶς τριχὸς ἄκειρον.

For he himselfe when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourn'd for after this manner, by no worse man then *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this custome *Strabo* speaks of a Towne in *Cappadocia* called *Comana*, from the *mourning-haire*, cut in that place by *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practise of *Tellus* in the behalfe of *Phaeton*, and of *Bacchus* the god (as *Imonsus as he was*) for the losse of his Wife. Nay you shall find *Job* himselfe at this very worke upon the newes of his Childrens death; and * *C.7. v.29.* in the Prophecy of * *Ieremy* you may read, *Cut off thy haire, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation.* Tis true, they were * *Tusc.Q.l.3.* to be blamed for these follies, and in * *Cicero* you shall meet with a saying of *Bion* himselfe, deriding the use of this custome in *Agamemnon*, *Perinde stultissimum Regem in luctu capillum sibi evellere, quasi calvitio meror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former losse of his friends, with another of his haire. What if it be objected to all this, which we confesse to be true too, that it was a custome to cut the haire in token of joy? For First among the Jewes, if you look into the Bible, you shall find *Joseph* cutting his haire, when he came out of Prison; and *Ionathans* Sonne, when he met with *David* for joy doing the like. nay that action of *Job* itselfe, is by *Origen* (the *Allegoricall* interpreter) thought to have been an expression not of Sorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerefull patience under his affliction. 2ly Among the Romans, you know their *squallid Prisoners* let their haire hang downe long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and so move the Iudges to pitty

pitty when they came to be try'd.

* *Aſpice demiſſos lugentis more capillos.* * *Ovid. In Epiſt.*

Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they preſently cut it: & therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epiſtles interprets his dreame of the cutting off his haire, to be a token of his deliverance from ſome eminent danger. And laſt of all for your Greeks themſelves, that they let their haire grow long in times of ſadneſſe, may appeare by that of *Lycophron.*

Κρατὸς δ' ἄκυρες νῶτα καλλυνεῖ ἑβδη
Μηνίλω παλαίων τιμιλὸς ὀδυρμάτων.

And that they cut it in times of joy, will be out of queſtion if we believe *Artemidorus* who ſayes that δεῖ χθὲς ὀνομάζειν ἀπὸ τῦ χαρῆναι τὸ κεῖραι, *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they uſe for cutting the haire.* To reconcile theſe things, perhaps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their haire ſhorter by way of a Κόμη, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy; but *ſhaving* it cloſe, even to *baldneſſe*, of ſorrow and dejection. as among the Jewes, *weeping, and mourning, and baldneſſe,* were joyn'd together. I know there are ſome, that thinke to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſaies (in *Romaicis*) παρ' ἕλλησιν ὅταν δυσυχία γένηται κείρονται μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες κομῶσι δ' οἱ ἄνδρες: that *Women expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their haire,* & *the Men by letting it grow.* which may be likely enough, becauſe in ſorrow, people out of a dejected careleſneſſe, love to appeare as unhandſome as may be, and contrary to the uſuall faſhion: now it was accounted a handſome thing, (& ſo it was the cuſtome too) among the Greekes, for Women to weare their haire long, and the Men to weare it ſhort. but how is it then that in * *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long haire?

Iſai c. 22. 12.

Capillus paſſus, prolixus, circum caput,
Rejectus negligenter.

* *In Heaut. Act. 2. ſc. 1. 3.*

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any diſaſter befell ſuch as were neer of kin unto them, ἐνήματον, &c. it being a time for ſadnes, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themſelves to that which the Scholiaſt calls ἀλφίτων κυκεῶνα, a *Barly-maſh*, (good Ale it's like, and a good exchange) But ſorrow muſt be more then negative (though two of their negatives make an affirmative) and therefore, Firſt, they uſed to teare their cloths & their haire, after the manner of the Hebrews, and ſome times to fling their vailes in the fire, (not in healths, but in ſobs and ſighs) as it is in *Rheſus*.

Eurip. Κἠ συμπυρῶσαι μυελὸν πίπλων χλιδάν.

2ly To throw their faces in the duſt, or the duſt in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Ovid. Met. l. 8. fab. 9.
Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultuſq; ſenilis,
Fœdat humi fuſos ----

Or ſometimes aſhes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourn'd for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sonnes at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

----- ἀμφὶ δ' ἀνοδὸν
Eurip. Suppl. v. 826. Κάρα κιχύμεθα:---

3ly κόπτεσθαι (which is us'd for πυγδεῖν) to beat their breſts & their thighs, and cut and teare their fleſh like a Jew, as one ſaies ----* ἀμῶσαι χρὼτα κἀλγεῖν.

* *Smyrnæus* β. Making ſtreakes and *furrowes* with their nailes in their face. (as * *Euripides* uſes the work ὠλακίζειν.

* *In Hel.* ---- ὄνυξιν ἠλοκίσμεθ')

4ly To draine, and repeat the interjection ἴ, ἴ, ἴ, ἴ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon b *Ariſtophanes*) comes the word ἔλεγος to be

b *In Avib.*

any

us'd for a ſong of lamentation, *ſcilicet* ἀπὸ τῆς λύγης.

But at a funerall ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of ſorrow, that *Solon* was faine to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtraine them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergo habento*, *Let no Women &c.* Their cuſtomes they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. First, when they came forth of the houſe (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his haire: and it is noted by the * *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practiſe, where he ſhewes how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe neither the pot of Holy-water, nor ſo much as a lock of haire could be ſeen at the doore, as they were wont to be.

* *Cicero* [*De Legib.*

* *Eurip. Alc.* v. 100.

Χαῖται τ' ἔπῃ ἐπὶ θεόθυτα πυμαῖ-
- ος, ἃ δὴ πολλῶν πάνθαπ πτυχεῖ.

2ly As they went along with the corps, they kept their heads cloſe covered, and their faces, as other people doe: and therefore *Oreſtes* when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, ſaies he

* See Eſther. c. 6. v. 12. & Ierem. c. 14. v. 3.

---- ἀνακάλυπτ' ὦ κασίγνητον κάρα
Γᾶ δακρύων τ' ἄπολγ' ----
Be uncover'd &c.

In like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another * Tragedy of the ſame Poet) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his helpe χαπήνης χλανιδίοις, all bemuſled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, ſaid to him

* *In Suppl. v.* 110.

Λεύ γ' ἐκκαλύψαι κρᾶτα καὶ πάρειγβεν.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their head (as we doe our heads upon our hands) ſo * *Helen* ſaies of the Trojans Ἐπὶ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκαν.

* *Id. v.* 376.

3ly Their manner of going was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noyce with their tongues (I mean the reſt of the company, and not thoſe which they got for the purpoſe to Weepe)

Σιγᾷ· σίγα λεπτὸν ἴχνος ἀρτύλης
Τιθεῖσα, μὴ κλύοιτο, μηδ' ἔσω κλύοι.

Saies

* *C 21. v. 27* Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of * Kings tis ſaid that *Ahab* lay
* *C. 38. v 15.* in Sackcloth וילך אט and *went ſoftly*. and ſo * *Iaiah* ſaies, *I ſhall goe ſoftly all my years in the bitterneſſe of my ſoule* ארדה though I know ſome tranſlations render it otherwiſe.

4ly When they came to the place of buriall (for I mean to end the Mourning firſt, and then to come to the reſt) they would cut off all the beſt locks of their haire (πλόκαμον or βόστρυχον) and lay them on the grave, or caſt them into the fire. and this they called τριχοθυσίαν κομῆς, and τριχοκούτας τομὰς (as it is in *Ariſtophanes*) or τιμῆον βόστρυχον (as in *Aeſchylus*) or κρατόμον χλιδῶ (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχὰς τῆς κόμης (as it is every where.) All their *beſt Locks* I ſaid; for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *Helen* for dealing παύρως *deceitfully*, and hiding the beſt of her haire to ſave it, at the buriall of *Clytemneſtra*: for indeed ἔδει πᾶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν θρυῦπτας πάντα τὸ πλόκαμον τιμῆν, *they ſhould off with it all*, ſaith the Scholiaſt upon that Poet, who in another place has given a reaſon or two for the action, *viz.* Firſt to make them ſeeme ſquallid, and careleſſe, and contemptible; whereas locks Ἀβρότητα καὶ καλλωπισμὸν ἐμπαρέχει, *are uſed for ornament, and ſpruceneſſe*, as being τρυφὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς (as I may ſay) the *Luxury of the haire*. Then, tis known that the Greekes were κομηκομῶντες, & uſed to weare the haire long
* *Il. β.* οὐ μόνον εἰς κάλλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν, ſaies the * Scholiaſt, both to *pleaſe their friends and to fright their enemies*. nay they took ſuch as *pride* in having it ſo, (calling themſelves Ἀκρατᾶνας, & ſuch as cut it too ſhort κυρτὰς) that κομᾶν, ſignifying to
* *Il. ϕ.* weare haire long, has been uſed to ſignify to be * *proud*, as in *Herodotus* ὀπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμων.

2ly Ἵνα διὰτέτε πίνδος ἵλεως αὐτοῖς ὁ τιμεὶς ᾖ. to get the good will of the deceaſed party, and the *Manes*. ſome again ſay it was done to none but a Parent, or a Foſter-father, or Mother, by way of thankes for their education, and ſo they cal'd it θρεπτήρια τιθῆν, or ἀντιτιθέναι τὰς ἀναθρεψάς: but why
* *Pauſan.* then ſhould * *Hercules* doe it to *Sofiratus* he who was but his

Ganymede

Ganymede. Laſt of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the ſpace of eleaven daies) the Women were not to weare any * Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle light (which two at firſt were but one thing, *viz.* * Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅπτειν ὁ ξύλος, ſaith an old Gloſſe, and to this cuſtome ſome doe referre that in the Satyriſt.

* *Lycophr.*

* *Vid Suid. in* φρυνίς & *Heſych. in* Δαλός.

Pullati proceres, &c.
-----tunc odimus ignem. *Iuven. Sat. 3.*

If the mourning were for a publique calamity, all the *paleſtræ*, and *gymnaſia*, muſt be ſhut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the Temples themſelves. But it is time to returne to the Corps, & ſee it buried as ſoon as I can, for feare of giving offence (as I told you before.)

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco ſepulturæ.

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called Ἡριάδαι, ſo called becauſe they led to the ἠρία, the *Graves*, or the *Common-place of buriall*. this gate is ſometimes called Ἱεραὶ πύλαι, [a] *Sacræ portæ*, whether in oppoſitiõ to the πύλαι ἀποφράδες (in *Plutarch*) or the κατάρατοι πύλαι (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phraſe, or *Scelerata porta*, as the Romans doe) by which they drag'd the Malefactors, I am yet to ſeeke; for Malefactors were to ſuffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. it ſeems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike uncleane, and ſo took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

[a] *Theogn.* [b] *Aristid.* [c] *l. Pollux.*

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to ſhew that he might not be a *Mountain* for ever) according to that in *Lycophron*.

Τρωσὶ τ' παρχόντι Κερμέρι οἴκαδε

Or that of * *Virgil.*

* Æn. 11.

——— *fuit ingens Monte ſub alto*
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere buſtum.

* *Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom.*

* *Aurelius* ſaies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *ſepultus circa radices Montis qui ex ſe nomen dedit.* unleſſe you will ſay that thoſe *Montes* were nothing but *tumuli* in a larger ſize, which were in the *diminutive*, and ſo the hilles muſt be made by the buryer as * *Lucian* ſaies.

L. 8.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quieſcunt.

But for men of a lower ranke, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

——— ὧδε κὰθ Ἕλλαν γαίης
Βῶς πολυκωκύτους εἰς ἄϊδος δόμους.

'Tis true that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may ſay) appointed for the purpoſe, calledby the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ μὲν ἔσω ὁ δ' ἔξω τοῦ πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τοὺς τάφους, the *Burialls* or the *Berryes*. That buriall place within (otherwiſe called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thycidides*) was for thoſe that made an honorable end in the Field for the good of the *Common-wealth*: the manner whereof I ſhall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was diſtinguiſhed into ſeverall fields, and encloſures, and therefore we ſhall read that ſometimes they were buried in the bounds of thoſe fields, ſometimes cloſe to the Gates, ſometimes by the way ſides, according to that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*.

* In Rheſ. v. 880.

——— τάφοις
Θάπτειν πολείταν λαοφόρῳ πρὸς ὁδῷ.

CAP.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOw for the uſage of the bodies when they came to the place of buriall, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἔκαιον διὰ τὸ ἀνιερώτατα χώματα, ὡς φησὶ Δικαίαρχος νεκρῶν, the cuſtome was at firſt to burne them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animam quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi ſe igni luſtraverit petere ſedes inter aſtra*; and the reaſon was, ſaies that Scholiaſt, *becauſe by this meanes the body might preſently conſume all away to nothing.* but that cuſtome (I know not for what reaſon) was not ſo well lik'd by other people inſomuch that the *Magi* among the * *Perſians*, thought it ἀνόσιον a thing moſt profane (I feare me more for the *Fire* then any thing elſe,) and therefore at length it came to be leſſe us'd, ſo as ſometimes they would burne them, and ſometimes only cover them with earth, which is enough to prove, that there is no neceſſity that τύμβος a *Grave*, ſhould come from τύφειν, τύπτειν καίειν, *to burne*, as the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* would have it. but for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, buriall by burning, was ſtill eſteemed the more honourable and ſtately way of the two, as may appeare by their unwillingneſſe to have it common, for they denied the uſe of it, Firſt to Infants. 2ly To ſuch as kild themſelves. 3ly To ſuch as were kill'd with Lightning or *Fulguritis*, *ſtruck with the Planet* (as we ſay) who were to be buried there where they died, or at leaſt in ſome peculiar place apart, as we doe thoſe that Hang themſelves, or the like: and thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ſton'd to death, as he was ſcaling the walls (a thing invented by him as ſome report) becauſe they imagin'd him to have been ſhot to death by *Iupiter*, muſt needs be buried χωὶς ſeorſum, ſo *Adraſtus* ſaies in *Euripides*,

Il. A.

* *Diog. Lert. l.*10.

Ἠχαιοὶ ἔτεμον ὡς νεκρὸν δαίφρονα δῖλοι

And laſtly to Traytors, on whom they were loath to beſtow any buriall at all. Inſomuch that *Themiſtocles* having been dead long before in *Magneſia*, the Athenians in time of a Peſtilence, though they had expreſſe command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could by no means be permitted by the Magiſtrates to doe it, in regard he had deal't with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country; and therefore having obtain'd fifty daies time to celebrate his Funerall, as the faſhion was (as I may ſay) *in his picture*, having erected a Tent cloſely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Originall of this Law the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the ſiege of Troy, threatned, whomſoever he found leaving his place treacherouſly in the fight, to kill him himſelfe, adding withall,

------ὑλίνυτόγε

Γυπὶπτι γυναικὶπτι πτερὸς λελέχωσι δαῆναι.

Upon which words you have this ſcholy. Ἔστιν νόμος ἀγραφος μὴ θάπτεσθαι, ὃθεν καὶ νομοθετήσαντος ἐκαύθη. *Hence came the Law &c.* But I muſt tell you after all this, that however *burning* and *burying* are ſo neare in their ſound, they have been farre enough diſtant in their being, at leaſt in ſome Countreys, for at Rome it was not us'd in *Macrobius* his time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been diſcontinu'd only upon diſlike, then not to have been begun when it was not us'd: for one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they eſteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purify, is reported by a Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, to have cry'd aloud to *Prometheus* with theſe words, Ἐπαρῆξον, βοήθησον, κλέψον σὺ λύσαπον καὶ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, *O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* the firſt that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*, who deſiring of *Licymnius* to ſend his ſonne *Argius* to help him in the warre with *Laomedon* for

the

the horſe, engaged himſelfe by an oath, to ſee him home ſafe to his Father againe; but the ſonne being kill'd in the Warre, he took him and burnt him, and carried the bones to his father, σοφιζόμενος αὐτὸν, *putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had had his ſonne indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. and yet he us'd him better then *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus*, did *Menelaus*, who having promiſed him fifty ſhipps with men, ſent him but one true ſhip, and pop'd him along with ſhipps and men made of clay for the reſt. the ſtory is likely enough, but he that told me ſaid he did not believe it, and * therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reaſon or two for the uſe of the cuſtome, either becauſe πᾶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, *every dead thing is impure*, and ſo it had need to be purifi'd, and the rather by fire, becauſe it was commonly us'd to ſuch a purpoſe, as being ἀγνιστικὸν, able to make that pure and chaſt which before was adulterate with *Heterogeneous* abaſements and alloys, whence *Euripides* ſaies of *Clytemneſtra's* body, πυρὶ καθάγνισαι: or elſe to ſhew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carri'd in the fire, as in a coach to be joyn'd in ſociety with the gods above, τὸ μὲν θεῖον τῷ αἰθέρι ἀναφορὰν ὥσπερ ἐν ὀχήμασι τῷ πυρὶ (how neere this goes to exprene the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) σωμάζεσθαι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις: which Princes had no need of, if they could be carri'd upon Eagles wings, as I ſhall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is ſaid ἀναπεθῆναι, *to be made again* by the fire, and ſo to be come ἀχλὸς ἀθάνατος as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophiſters of India (γυμνοσοφισταὶ) us'd to burne themſelves into that immortality which they deſir'd of *Alexander* when he put them to aske what they would.

* Hom. Il. A.

Ib. χ.

* *Arr. Tuſc. Q. L. 5.*

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corporis
De loculis & reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood, and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer* where he speaks of *Hector*.

Il. Ω. Ἐν δ' πυρὴ ἅπαντα νεκὺν δάμεν ἐν δ' ἄβαλον πῦρ.

The wood was not all wales of one sort, but sometimes Oake, as in * *Euripides*, where you shall read of πυρὰς δρυὸς *Oaken billets*, at the funerall of *Hercules* his children: sometimes Olive, as in a *Sophocles*; and sometimes Pine, as in b *Athenæus*, unlesse (shall I say) that he confined the use of it to the buriall of Virgins. if the party had lost his life in a shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship.

* *Herc. Fur.* v. 241.
a *In Trach.*
b L. 15.

Manlius l. 4.

---et corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis
Et collecta rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ.

Thus to burne the bodies, they call'd it πυρὴν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it selfe πυρὰν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bone-fire, and pray'd to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burne the better: not to put the carcasse (surely) but themselves out of the paine. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embrac'd it as an excellent good omen. Still there was a Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine, and after that πὼ πόρεν σπὼ πῶς ὀστέα ἐχώννυον *, they swept up the ashes together in a heape. the bones they took and wash'd them in water

* Il. Ψ.

brought

brought in κέρνοις pots for the purpose, by the ἐκχυτρίαι, (Women appointed for that worke, and for bringing Milke, and such other things as they us'd in the χοαὶ) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrap'd them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they call'd σόλων, or πίθος, or σορὸν. * Etym. Mag.

* Ὅτι ἡ ἐξόστρα τοῦτ' ἦν ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐμερίζοντο. Il. ψ.

The vessell whatsoever it was, is in *Lycophron* called κρωσσός, as if it were a Pot, and in *Moschus* χρύσεος κρωσσὸς, as if it were wont to be gilded, and in * *Plutarch* λιθίνου σοροῦ, as if it were wont to be of stone. methinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was usually made of Wood, *viz.* of Cedar, which is longest a rotting, and is therefore called νεκρῶν ζωὴ, *the life of the dead.* indeed whether it were ordinary to have such coffins, or only for those that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. but that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κέδρος, us'd sometimes for the chest it selfe does seem to declare: as in those words of * *Admetus* desiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too. Idyl. 4. * In Numa. * Eurip. Alc. v 365.

Ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς σὲ μ' ἀποκρύψω λέβησι
Σοὶ κἀγὼ ξυνεῖναι θέλουσ' ---

A wish not unreasonable, seeing the thing desir'd was so usuall both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St *Austins* own Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Quos certus amor quos hora novissima junxit Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 2.
Componi tumulo non invideatis eodem.

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in the same coffin, but the *Megarenses* many times foure, saies *Pausanias*. The bones they kept, because they were that which the fire left, were called λείψανα or *Relicks*; and they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*, μήποτε δὲ ἐχθροὶ &c. least they should be expos'd to the rage of too deadly Enemies. if the party were burnt in a forrein Countrey, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the coffin

coffin, and pomponſly ſhewed and adorn'd with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid.*

Oſſa tamen facito parvâ referantur in Urnâ
Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

When they came where there were croſſe waies, thoſe that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia*-feaſts, δεῖπνον * ἀγῆται ἐορτὴν ἀγόμενοι ἐν ᾗ ἐδίδου τοῦτο ἐπὶ τριόδου τοῖς νεκροῖς, After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times ('twas a number very ſuperſtitiouſly uſed by all nations) to make his appearance,

Virgil. ——— *Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* (but of this already) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the reſt of the family, only ſuch as prov'd [a] unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of * ἀποπρωτος.

* *Vetus Gloſſ.*

* *Diog. La.*
* *Harpocr.*

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THE cuſtomes uſed in a *cold* buriall were theſe, (and ſome of them us'd at a burning too, as the Sacrifice, the ſpeeches, and the playes) The peculiar place of buriall was uſually choſen before they died, and markt with a black ſtone, and when they came to be buried, a heape of earth thrown upon the body, περὶ ὀρθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέως πάρα, &c. ſaies *Ulyſſes* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*) agreeable whereto, is that phraſe of the ſame Poet in another place. μητέρα ἐξέχυτον πάρα, and the Latine word *Tumulus*, a *heape* or a *grave*. but (I think) for the better ſort, they made it higher, and a little handſomer with ſtones, ſomewhat after the faſhion of our Tombs, for ſo *Theſeus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* ſhould honour his Corps ——— Λαΐνοισί τ' ἐξογκώμασιν. Whether earth or ſtones, it ſeems they deſired to have it poliſhed, as neat as might be, faſt and ſmooth

Τύμβον

c Τύμβον καλύψει ξίφεσι, ſaies the ſame Poet in *Alceſtes*, and in *Helena* ——— d ἐπὶ ξεστῷ πάγῳ. The poſture the body uſually had in the grave, was with the face towards the Eaſt, ſaies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*; towards the Weſt, ſaies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the ſtone which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of the party deceaſed, which they deſcribed commonly in verſe. *Plato* was for juſt foure Heroick verſes and no more. ſuch Epitaphs they called γνωσίσματα, becauſe they made *known* the party, as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias*, becauſe they made them *remembred*: and therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, (ſaies *Iuſtin*) uſed to tye a ticket or note about their wriſts, to certify of what condition they were, that in caſe they ſhould dye in the Fields, they might have a buriall and a Monument, according to their quality. having thrown the earth upon him, the next worke was to Sacrifice, and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis*. ſuch a prayer the Chorus in *Euripides* us'd for *Alceſtis*.

——— κυφάσαι
Χθὼν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πέσῃ, γύαι. * V. 462.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked * fellow, or a * Coward, ſo they thought it too little to be deny'd to another: and this made *Menelaus* to feare ſo little to dye, for ſaies he. * Κακοῖς.

* Εἰ γ' εἰσὶν ὅστις θεοὶ σοφοὶ
Εὐψυχον ἀνδρα πολεμίων θανὼν' ὑπο
Κύρῃ καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονὶ
Κακοὺς δ' ὑφ' ἅρμα στρεῦγ' ἐκβάλλειν γῆς. * Eurip. Hel. v. 857.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THe manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ἅιδης or ἅιδου, was a place

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (* ἰχάδαν) (perchance to get the neerer to them) according to that practise in *Ovid.*

Met. l. 7. *Hæud procul egestâ scrobibus tellure duabus*
Sacra facit.

The Victime then slaine, was either a barren Cow, as * *Homer* saies ---- στεῖραν βοῦν, ἥτις ἄρωγε, and * *Virgil.*

Odyss. 11. * *Æn. 6.* ---- *Sterilemque tibi Proserpina vaccam.*

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slaine at the grave of *Agamemnon*

* *Eurip. Elect. v. 513.* Θυοῦσι δ' αὐτῷ αἰπὺς ὃν μελάγχιτον τάλαν
Σφάγιον ἱερεῖον ----

and such as *Seneca* speaks of [a] *Nigro-bidentes vellere*, &c. the reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either because it suited best with mourning, or because it was to the black gods of the darke, for as * *Arnobius* saies, *Diis Levis sedes habitantibus inferas color fuscus est gratior.* Afterward it rose to an Oxe till it was forbidden by *Solon.* Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or a Hog, as it was best if it were a spayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ramme nor Bull, nor Boare, &c. τὰ μὴ γεγονότα ζῶα, or ὅσα τε ἐστείρωται, ἢ ὅσα μὴ ἔσεσθαι ἔτι προσκεῖται, saies the Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered downe both their own haire, and the Bristle-haire of the beast, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχὰς viz. ὡς ἀψύχοις τοῦσιν ἀφαιρούμενοι, that they might not give the dead, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in another thing. those *setæ*, or bristle-haires, are in a peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαὶ, and the offering thereof, ἀπάρχεσθαι, as in these words,

Plut. in Sol. *Hom. Il. ψ.*

Il. ξ. ---- ἀπαρχόμενοι κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον
Ἀχιλλῆϊ θεός ----

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil.*

Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus imposuit ----

Yea

Yea not only the beast which they slew, but all the rest which they suffer'd to live, in the time of a publick funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men, as appears by the practise of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all, at the funerall of *Masistius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funerall of *Hephæstion* dealt with the Horses and the Mules, and the Walls themselves of the Towne of *Ecbatana*, ξυλίσας (as *Ælian* has it) *shaving* them ἐς χθῶ close to the ground. and I remember in * *Euripides Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wifes funerall in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses manes to be all cut

---- ἐν ἱππομανίαις
Πόλυς σιδήρου τίμιος αἰχμὰν φόβει.

* *In Alcest.* v. 429.

Then besides the victime they had πᾶσαι χοαὶ *Libationes*, which was usually μελίκρατα, hony and milke and wine, to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render aright

---- ἀμπύρους ἀμφιστάσας. in * *Euripides*, the manner of using these liquors, was first to goe round about the grave, and poure out some as they went out of the bottle (as he * saies λύσας ἀσκὸν) and then to stand on the top, and doe it there too, as *Sophocles* saies κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας &c. As they offered, they used certain speeches to the party deceased, such as that was Ἐλθὲ μοι ἀδελφὲ ἢ ἐμῷ ἀμφὶ χοαῖς.

* *Hel.* v. 554.

* *Id. in Elect.* v. 530.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead, to be propitious to them: and therefore those χοαὶ, were usually term'd ἱλάσκιοι, and εἰλίβειοι, and κλαπτοὶ χοαὶ, and they made choyce of the most proper liquors, for to sweeten and supply them. such a Prayer is that in *Euripides* to the ghost of *Achilles*, Ὦ παῖ πάλαι, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, δέξαι χοὰς μυθὼν δ' ἱκάνεις νεκρῶν ἀγωγὸς ὤν.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kindred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leagurers at *Troy*, and their friends at home, saies she, *Their Parents being*

ing thus bereft of their children in the Siege.

---- ἀλλ' ἄλοχός τε τέκος τε
Ἔδ' ὄτις ἀμφὶς ἔασι καὶ οὐ λιποῦσ' ὀλέσθαι.

---- no body have
To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEsides all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the herse & the corps, and this action they called στεφανοῦν ἢ τύμβον, and the Garlands themselves στέμματα, and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only ἐφημιμβρίαι, made of a *Collation*, or a *collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be throwne ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔρεμν, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower σέλινον (saith * *Athenæus*) and then the Garlands were called σέλινοι too and it may be sometimes of σέλινον or *Appium*, as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance, Mules laden with this *Appium*. the Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that hearb in funeralls (whence the proverb of one that is desperately sick λύκῳ σέλινα, *that he needs Appium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the hearb, when a man has wonne the best at a fight, as well as when death has given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (in *Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles* The reason of it, saies * *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet *condition* of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀσχολίαν ἀμεριμνίας ὁ στέφανος σύμβολον. but I rather think

* L. 14 & 5.

* Pædag. l. 11. c. 8.

think with the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you that they intended it θεῖναι τὸ πρὸς τὸν μνημα φορεῖν ἐπὶ νικῶντων, to honour the dead as they us'd to doe the living when they wonn the *Game*. for the ſame reaſon doubtleſſe was it that they did φυλλοβολεῖν (as they call'd it) falla throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave, as *Euripides* ſaies they did to *Polyxena* when ſhe died (for in later times, if a man had wonne a race or the like, they had a cuſtome to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old fellow in * *Euripides* with Myrtle. * *Electr. v.* 512.

----- τύμβῳ δ' ἀμφέθηκα μυρσίνας.

Whether was there any alluſion therein to the *golden bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, & in *Servius* his notes upon him, It ſeems that in *Italy* they had the ſame cuſtomes, for ſaies * *Varro*, *ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they *carri'd leaves to caſt upon the dead trees*. and that they took the paines to make Garlands too, will appear by thoſe words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam ſepulchris denegatis &c.* nay, *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, ſaies my * Author, they came to wool at laſt, when they had more to ſpare. *Æn. 6.* * *L. 6. de L. L.* *Id.*

CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis, de Oratione, & Ludis funebribus, & de Aquilis.

EIther upon, or cloſe by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar ſometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of ſomewhat elſe to reſemble him. thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*, and *Iſocrates* with the image of a *Siren* for being an *Orator*: and it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over-conſtant love to his Wife, when he would get the *Cicero de L. L.* *Diog. La.*

Image curiouſly made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for ſo he tells her.

Σοφῆ ϛ χρίπτκτόνων Νῦμα τὸ σὸν
Εἶκαδὲν ἐν λόκλοισιν ἐκταδάσῃ).

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private diſcourſe at home at the feaſt, or by a publick ſpeech in the *Ceramicus*; which ſpeech, if the party dyed in a battell, was to be made by one appointed by the Magiſtrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every year after: as *Cicero* ſaies *in Populari oratione mos eſt Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio ſint interfecti: quæ ſic probata eſt, ut eam quotannis, ut ſcis, illâ die recitari neceſſe ſit.* *Lib. de Orat.*

The firſt that began this cuſtome of making Speeches, ſome ſay, was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of thoſe that were ſlaine in the *Peloponeſian* warre; and ſome. *Solon.* but beſides funerall-ſpeeches, they had Funerall-*playes* too, ἀγῶνες ἐπιτάφιοι. both the Play and the Feaſt, commonly goe under the name of τάφος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practis'd by the unhappy people of thoſe times, even in Burialls, when they ſhould have more wit, what will you ſay, if I have that yet left, which will pleaſe you all as much, *viz.* that even they themſelves for the moſt part, eſteemed thoſe practiſes, both unprofitable to the dead, and vaine and fooliſh in the living, as may appeare in the words of *Hecuba* her ſelfe, or the * Poet for her.

Δοκῶ ϛ τοῖς θανοῦσι διαφόρου ζοχύν,
Εἰ πλουσίοις τε δόξῃ κτερισμάτων
Κεῖσθ' ϛ γαύρωμ' ὅτι ἀμφὶ ζώντων τὸ ϛ.

* *Eurip. Troad. v.* 1247.

I thinke it boots the dead the leaſt of all,
How rich or poore they have the funerall,
Tis th'livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus diſpos'd of the body, they return'd home. for the Soule they take no care, unleſſe it were a King or a Prince

Prince, whoſe ſoules they imagin'd ἀχεῖσθαι to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*, and therefore was it, that they were * wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they uſed to let fly an Eagle over the grave. in alluſion to this *Lychophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, becauſe he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach. *Artemid. l. 2 c. 20.*

CAP. XXXIV.

De Luſtratione Domus funeſtæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging, and *Luſtrating* the houſe with brimſtone, and themſelves by going through the fire, or ſome other luſtration (for there were ſeveral ſorts thereof, and if I have leaſure, I may chance to ſpeak more of it.) thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis ſaid they did to the Kings houſe, who was ſlaine by *Hercules*, rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the λαὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἱερεῖ δ' ἐν λοῒ πέριξ δόμους ἰόντα
Καθαρσίοις ὕδασιν. *Eurip. Herc. F. v. 923.*

After this they kept a feaſt, τὸ Σιλλύβιον, *Silicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with ſome of us. Thoſe that were at it wore Garlands, as *Cicero* ſaies, *quas inibant parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparell was white, *& quis unquam cænavit atratus*, ſaies * *Cicero*. but how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to goe all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son? So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourne for *Alceſtis*, ἐν μελαγκρήπιδι στολῇ, in black, and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funerall of *Adonis* κυανοστόλῳ in *a sky colour'd gowne*. perchance they wore black no longer, then till it came to the feaſt. This feaſt they renewd againe, not only nine daies after, when they call'd it [a] ἔννατα, and thirty daies after, when they call'd it τριακοστὰς (when they *Odyſſ. 17.* * *In valinium* *Il. 24.* * *Alc. v. 427.* [a] *Pollux l. 3. c. 19.*

they ſacrific'd to *Mercury*, that he might carry their ſoules to the *fields*, but alſo upon the day of his death ever after, calling it νεκύσια, and upon the day of his birth, calling it γενέθλια. the common name for all theſe feaſts, or the common feſtivall for all the infernall rites, and for all perſons, was Νεμέσια, uſually kept in the Month of *Anthesterion*, as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum* when the Kinred eſpecially (*les parens*) did ſacrifice to the earth, and the gods under it, and the ghoſts of their Parents, or their anceſtors above it.

Of all theſe Funerall rites that I have nam'd, none that had been an enemy to the perſon deceaſed, might be ſufferd to beare any part, as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chryſothemis* forbidding her to ſacrifice.

Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐχθρᾶς ἐν γυναικὸς ἱσάνυ
Κτείσματα -----

Nor ſo much as come neere the grave, as *Ulyſſes* in *Sophocles* forbid to doe to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay ſuch was *Sepulchralis ſanctitas* (ſaies *Tully*) that no *ſtranger* might be ſuffer'd to doe it, for feare he *might* be an enemy. moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth* of death, (for ſo * *Homer* calls the grave) to be *gnawne like a ſheep*, by the never ſatisfied teeth of a hungry קבר. for τυμβιδιωτος, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly ſaid to be devour'd, as what is devour'd and inclos'd in the ſtomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly ſaid to be buried τυμβιδεῦς. for ſo the *Vultures* are called * τάφοι ἔμψυχοι, *living graves*: nay the Metaphore is commonly made reach to men themſelves, ſome of whom, even *their mouthes are open ſepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. as that of

* Il. ρ. Pſal. 49. 14.

* Hes. Theog.

of *Tereus* when he eate his Sonne.

----- *Seq; vocat luſtum miſerabile nati.*

And of Saturne when he did the like. nay being buried, & being devour'd, have been counted ſo ſynonymous, that (as *Lactantius* ſaies) *Saturne* was thought to have been ſaid, to have eaten his Sonns, becauſe he buried them where they might not be ſeen. Well, it cannot be helpt: theſe great eaters Death and the Grave are all mouth, and no eares, like the belly. there's no ſtopping nor filling their mouth. Ἀδὺ ὐκ ἔστι βωμὸς, ſaies *Aeſchylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. he is inexorable, and therefore call'd ἀπροσδεὴς θεὸς in *Euripides*. neither (ſaies a * Scholiaſt) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not wherefore. Let us ſee therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. L. 1. c. 13. * On Hom. Il. 1.

His Wife if ſhe ſeem'd to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, leaſt ſhe might be cunningly perſwaded to marry with whom ſhe ſhould not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the puniſhment was arbitrary. The children were committed, ἐπιτροπῳ to a *Tutor*. he that was to ἐπιτροπεύειν, to be overſeer or Guardian, was either not to be of Kin at all or elſe ſo farre off, that if the child ſhould happen to dye in his nonage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*, which way ſoever it were, he was παίδων κύριος (ſaies *Æſchines*) and had the mannaging of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old, and then either they themſelves, or any elſe that would, might ſue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς, a writ *Malè adminiſtratæ Tutelæ*, and have him before the *Archon*. but this muſt be done within five years after the Pupill came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB. VI.

SECTIO. I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De ſupplicibus ſacris. De aſylis & aris.

HAving taken this care to ſee the Marriage of himſelfe, the Education of his children, and the honourable Buriall of his Body, it will be expected that now I ſay ſomewhat in commendation of his Conditions, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. of his carriage towards the gods, becauſe there has been ſomething already done in that kind, I ſhall not ſpeak ſo largely; only a word or two, or more of the cuſtomes uſed in *Supplication* to, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I ſhall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poore, or his Enimies in waging of Warre. This Treatiſe, becauſe of the diverſity of ſubjects, you have divided

ded into three ſeverall Sections, and firſt of Supplication called by them ἱκετεία.

The perſon of a diſtreſſed Petitioner (as an abuſed ſlave or the like) whether he addreſſed himſelfe to men or to the gods, but eſpecially if to the gods, was to be look't upon as ſacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, ſent from *Dodona's* Vocall Forreſt to the *Athenians*, related by *Pauſanias*.

Φεύζεο δ' Ἄρειόνδε πάγον βωμούς τε δικάδους,
Ἐμμενίδαν, ὅτι χὴ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκετεῦσι,
Δυεὶ πεζομένους, πὺξ μὴ σὺ κλοῖσι σιδήρῳ
Μηδὲ λίτῃσι ἀδικεῖν, ἰκὴ θεοί τε χἀγυιαί.

For if he came flying to ſuch or ſuch Altars as were appointed to be Ἄσυλοι, none might touch him upon paine of exilement, and therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it ſuch a ground for his confidence: ſaies he

---- Βώμιοι δ' ἐγγὺς ἔχει πόλις πάρα. *The Altars are not farre of.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, * *what* (ſaies he) *doſt Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder that *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feard to meddle with, or to ſlay any body neer thē, becauſe they thought the blood would be upon them that ſhould doe it, yea though they were already dead in the Law, for ſo the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creuſa*, *the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (ſaies ſhe) *but I muſt be kill'd by the ſame Law, No matter* (replies the Chorus) *ſit faſt, and if any one kill thee there*

* Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

a Περὶ σφαγεῖον αἷμα δώσεις. a Id. v. 1258.

Thy blood ſhall be upon him.

Inſomuch that a great many even amongſt them, ſeeing malefactors thus protected frō the *Law*, & conſequently encouraged to the *tranſgreſſion*, were bold to complaine of the injuſtice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

Φεῦ δεινόγλωσσον ἀγυιὰς πού γάμους ὡς ὁ κλαίων
Ἔθηκεν ὁ θεός, ὃς' ὑπὲρ γνώμας σοφὸς

Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκως βωμὸν οὐκ ἠζίουν ἔχειν
Ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦν κοινὸν
Θεῶν πονηρὸν χρῆμα.

I ſaid before, *ſuch or ſuch*, becauſe 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only ſix *viz. Miſericordiæ, Minervæ, Eumenidum, Munichiæ*, and two of *Theſeus* Temples, one within and another without the Walls. The firſt of theſe ſome ſay was the firſt *Aſylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preſerve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn.* 8. *Poſtquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes inſidias eorum quos avus afflixerat Athenis ſibi primi Aſylum, hoc eſt, templum miſericordiæ conlocarunt, unde nullus poſſet abduci*, an example imitated by other People, almoſt in every country: for they thought that otherwiſe a beaſt had a ſafer condition then a man. ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν μὲν ὑὸς πίτεραν, δοῦλοι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔσονται. But is he now ſafe for ever? yes, unleſſe they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we uſe to doe eeles, &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to doe.

In Rud. Act. 3. Sc. 4.

Ilico Herclè aliquò quæritatum ignem
Ignem magnum hìc faciam ---- and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* ſheltring her ſelfe by the altar of *Thetis*. Πῶς σοι περσῶσω ---- on which the *Scholiaſt* thus Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς βωμοὺς καθεδίζουσι πῦρ περιφέρειν, &c. And yet all Ἱκέται or Petitioners, were not ſo afraid of a fire, as appears by the name of Ἑφέστιοι, which they have from flying to *hearths* the place for the fire, for refuge, as *Themiſtocles* did, whē being *Oſtracis'd* and baniſh'd, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſi* for ſhelter. otherwiſe none that fled thither, could be ſo wicked, but they counted him worſe that ſhould meddle with him: inſomuch that thoſe who kil'd the followers of *Cylon* (though they plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva*) becauſe they kil'd them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themſelves, and all other ſuch *prophane* companions after them called ἀλιτήριοι, as who ſhould ſay, *hinderers* ἀλιτῶν of

ſupplica-

ſupplications. prophane, I ſaid, for it was no better then prophanation, according to the Poet, στέφη μιαίνεις, the Garlands are *Polluted*. *Eurip. in Heracl.*

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the gods and Men, us'd to goe with στέφεσι Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands * ἵνα αἰδήμονες δοκῶσιν τοῖς, ὡς ἱκέτευον (ſaith the Scholiaſt on *Sophocles*) to beget reſpect, and amuſe the beholders thoſe green boughs are call'd by the ſeverall names of θαλλοὶ, συλλάβαι. ἱκτῆρες, ἱκτήριοι κλάδοι, and ſometimes ἱκετεῖαι for * *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father ſhe would make her own body ſupply the roome. * *In Oed.* *In Aul. v. 1216.*

Ἱκετείαν δ' ἐγὼ παρὸν ἐξάπτω σέθεν
Τὸ σῶμα τἄ μὲν -----

In thoſe boughs they put wool, (as we doe ſilk in poſies) and ſo calld them εἰρεσιώναι, *vittatas lauros*.

Λάνει μαλίσσω σωφρόνως ἐς ἁρμόσαι *Aeſchyl. in eum.*
Ἄρχῃ τὸ μαλλῷ: The wooll was not tyd, and ſo faſten'd to the boughs, but only wreath'd and wrap'd up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in the Tragedy of the *Theban Women petitioners* (v. 31.) calld it λῦσαι ἄλυσιν συλλάβας, the *Tye* without a knot. The Romans uſed ſuch boughs too, as it ſeems, for *Virgil* ſaies

Iamq; vrantes aderant ex Vrbe Latinâ
Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* ſpeaks of the like practiſe of the people of *Rhodes*. The boughs were either of *Laurell* or *Olive*.

* *Vittatæ lauros & ſupplicis arbor Olivæ.* * *Stat. Theb. l. 12.*

Firſt becauſe both thoſe kinds are ἀειθαλεῖς, *not ſubject to withering*, and therefore [a] *Euripides* gives the later the epithete of ἀκήρατος. 2ly Belauſe the Laurell was a ſigne of *prevailing*, and [a] *In Ion. v. 1436.*

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Lactantius* ſaies, *per quam pax petitur ſupplicando.* Now the cuſtome was with thoſe boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whō they Petition'd, or of the ſtatue of the god, juſt as * *Lucretia* did, γονάτων ἅπτῃ λαβόμενα, but if hopefull, the *hands* ᵇ ἐξαπτόμεθα τ' ἐμᾶς χλιδὸς δηγὸν; and if confident the *chinne*, and the *cheeks*, ἢ σὲ * γναθμῶν. It is ſaid by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his νεμ. (where the Poet deſires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he prayes for a *Gale* of ſucceſſe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they deſir'd the parties *conſent*, they touch'd the head to have it *annuere*, when his helpe, his *helping* hand; when ſucceſſe, the knee. the Laſt I know no great *reaſon* for, but *hiſtory* enough, even from the *Naturall Hiſtorian* himſelfe. *Hominis genibus quædam religio ineſt obſervatione gentium, hæc ſupplices attingunt ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* all his reaſon is, becauſe of the abundance of ſpirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortaſſe quia ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate foſſâ, ceu jugulo ſpiritus fugiat.* and therefore *Homer* makes the *Litæ* the Petitioners gods to be lame. as good as that of *Zenobius*, ὅτι οἱ κριταὶ ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν εἶχον, ἃ νῦν εἰς γραμματεῖα γράφουσι, becauſe Iudges had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the perſon of very great quality, they would bow ſo low as to kiſſe his feet, as thoſe did to *Cyrus*, Κύρῳ προσπίπτουσι καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. It was either this kiſſe, or a kiſſe of their own hand, which they anciently term'd *labratum*, the *old Gloſſe* calls it φιλήματα βασιλικὰ, ἢ ἀσπασικὰ βασιλέων. I have read of a kiſſe of the hand, when they did their reverence to the Gods, with puting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they us'd in counting for the number of tenne) and then giving a turne on the right hand, as it is in * *Plautus*, *Quo me vortam, neſcio. Si deos jubeas, dextro vorſum, cenſeo.*

The ſafeſt place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire,

* *Dion Halic. l. 4.*
ᵇ *Soph. Oed. T.*
* *Eurip. in Heracl.*
Xenoph. l. 7.
* *In Curcul.*

fire, for thither they presently ranne, when they came to any strange place in travell, or exilement, as to the only Altar of the house, and the gods thereof: for according to that of *Cicero* in his *oration for his house*, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuscujusq; civium, hic aræ sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacræ religionis ceremoniæ continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournfull posture as might be, they need not open their mouths for pity, neither was it the custome so to doe. for those actions speak loud enough, and an eye would serve for the hearing.

Τῶν δ' ἄντα, καὶ ἀνωγθὶ ἐφ ἑστίᾳ ἀΐξαντες
Ἵζανον &c.

L.4. Argon.

This was the * practise of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and of *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*, but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard. ταύτῃ μεγίστῃ καὶ μόνῃ χρῶνται ἱκετείᾳ Θουκυδίδ. ἀναπείθειν ἐκεῖνοι ἱκέσιον ὄντα τινὰ, the only *way in use among those people to obtain a request.*

* Odyss. 7.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for helpe, their fashion was first to crowne the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their desires might be crown'd with successe.

* Πάντας δ' βωμοὺς ἐν μεσαυλίοις δόμοις
Πεπλοῖσι καὶ ἀξέστοις, καὶ στεφανώμασι
Θεῶν ἀπειρύζουσι μυρσινῶν φύβλοις.

* Eurip. in Alcest.

Their usuall gesture in praying, was to hold up their *armes* right toward heaven, as * *Helen* saies

* Eurip. Helen. v. 1100.

---- δεξιὰς ἀΐσσει πρὸς
Φάος ----

But to wrest their *hands* as farre as they could upon their wrests, according to that of *Æschylus*, where he saies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had ty'd him fast to the hill, his stomack was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray *manibus supinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and Children

children. Τυγχανούσης ἐπιτύμματα χρεών.
Now ſometimes it they obtain'd their requeſt, and it were a matter of conſequence, you ſhould have them relate it to the Prieſt of the Temple to be regiſtred, or write it downe in a Table, and leave it behind them to ſhew for a teſtimony.

CAP. III.

De generalibus & locis ſacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have obſerved in reading, concerning their manner of ſerving their Gods. Their divine ſervices in reſpect of the cauſe or occaſion, were 1. εὐκλαῖα, or χαριστήρια, *vota, free-will offerings.* ſervices promiſed and paid for a victory or the like.

* *Ovid Met. l. 9.* ----- * *Genæo ſacra parabat*
Vota Jovi. ---- 2ly τὰ Ἀπομαντεῖα, *ſuch as were impoſed,* and *commanded by an Oracle.*
----- * Εὐκταῖα φαῦν ἢ τὰ μαντείας πρὸς.
* *Sophoc. in Trach.*

In reſpect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1° ἐπιχθονίοις to the gods under ground, and that ἐν ἐσχάρᾳ in a ditch dig'd, or plow'd up for the purpoſe, the Latines call'd it *Ara*, ſuch as they us'd when they ſacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had alſo Ἡρῶα Temples and Playes, and what not) together with the [a] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay to ſet it forth. 2ly Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much in the ſame manner. and 3ly Τοῖς ὑπερτοις, to the gods *above ground*, ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar rais'd up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* [b] ὕψος ἱερὸν. and [c] χαλὰς ὕψος, as if it were a *worke vallum* or *Agger*, made of earth caſt up together. The diſtinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is ſet downe by the *Scholiaſt* on *Euripides*

[a] *Schol. ou Ariſt. in Avib.*
[b] *Soph. in Trach.*
[c] *Eurip. in Heracl.*

* Euripides thus. Βωμὸς *is an Altar built up high with an aſcent of ſeverall ſteps* ἔχαρα *is as it were one ſtep it ſelf, after the faſhion of ſome hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (juſt as they made their Λάκκοι [d] wherein they powr'd oyle and wine, and temper'd it with the duſt, to make cakes for the divell) The occaſion given him to make this diſtinction, was the words βώμιοι ἐχάραι in the Author, where upon hee notes that ἐχάραι was there uſed in a large ſence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a Ζωμὸς (and ſo at the making of a Statue to be worſhipped) they had a cuſtome ὀστέων ἐψημένων χύτρας ποικιλοχρόους, for women in garments of ſeverall colours, to carry about pots of ſeverall ſorts of boyled pulſe, and to offer thereof to the [a] gods.

* *In Phœniſſ.*

[d] *Schol. in Ariſtoph. Eccleſ.*

[a] *Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

----- τὰς χύτρας αἷς ἡ Διὸν
Ἰδαμυσόμαδα, λαβοῦσ' ἐπὶ τὴν κυρβαλῆτιν φόρει.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and ſo it may be call'd χῶμα or tumulus, as it uſes to be. ſometimes of aſhes, ſometimes of earth and bloud temper'd together, ſome times of ſtone, and ſometimes of wood. for the figure, it was ſometimes long, and ſometime ſquare, but moſt often * Κυκλοτερὲς, round as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables uſed to be. The places where they made their Altars, were uſually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (ſo often objected to the heatheniſh Iſraelites) for according to the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of * *Sophocles*, ἡ Οἴτη ζηνὸς ὑψίστου πάρος &c. πᾶν γὰρ ὄρος τῷ Διὶ ὀνομάζοντο ἐπὶ ὑψίστῳ ὄντι τῷ Διῷ εὐθὺς δεῖ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς θεὸς αὐτὸν, *every Mountain was called by Jupiters name, or conjecrated to Jupiter, becauſe the God being in a high place, it was fit to ſacrifice to him in a high place*, to be heard the better; as it was to the terreſtriall gods in a low, to come the neerer to them. Beſides, the Altar in ſuch a place, was the leſſe in danger to be gôt up upon, and prophan'd, as being to be kept (as the ſame Scholiaſt ſaies) ἀσύβηλον καὶ ἄβατον, *holy and untouch't.*

* *Odyſſ. ε.*

* *In Trach.*

3ly In respect of the time, some doe say that they sacrific'd to the *Hero's*, * ἐν δυσμαῖσιν αὐγαῖν *in the evening*, and to others in the morning.

* *Pindar. Isth. 4.*

Lastly in respect of the matter or the thing sacrific'd, it was either ἀπὸ ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things *without* life, and those either ξηρῶν dry, as corne and flower, or ἀπὸ ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine or Milke or Hony, usually called by the name of χοαὶ. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing, and so was all for his ἀναίμακτα θύματα, wherein there was no bloud, or ἀθύτους θυσίας, (as Thucidides calls them) where there was no smoake, or * ἀπύρους θυσίας, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost like't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ὁλοκαύτου θυσία, *a whole burnt sacrifice*, sometimes greater then a *Suovetaurelia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat, and sometimes but a τριττύς, of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went so high as a hundred, notwithstanding --- πολεῖται ἑκατόμβας. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Comissaries, unlesse they were robd of their due, as it seems they were sometimes by him in the Poet, threatning to complaine of one that did so.

* *Suidas.*

* *Aristoph. in Equit.*

* Καλοὶ φανοῦνται πρυτάνεσι
Δυνατεύτυς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἱε-
ρεῖς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

CAP. IV.

De Generibus & formulis jurandi.

* *Hesiod.*

Ὅρκος an *Oath*, the Son of *Eris*, & yet the *end of all contention* was of two sorts, *viz.* ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρός, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or of the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

* *Idem. in Theogon.*

Αὐτὰρ μὲν θεὸς ὅρκος ἐπιορκήσῃ θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον.

Which

Which is the cauſe why ſome fetch the word ὅρκος *an oath*, frõ *Orcus hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Iupiter*, and preſcribed by him to the reſt of the gods, when he had the aſſiſtance of *Styx*, and his Sons againſt the *Titans*, or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirſt in the fight. *Servius* ſaies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had ſworn falſe, or broken his oath when he ſwore by *Styx*, he was to be puniſhed for it in hell nine thouſand yeares. which order, even *Iupiter* himſelfe ſubmitted to, and therefore took the more care how he ſware, as *Minutius* ſaies, *Deſtinatam enim ſibi cum ſuis cultoribus pœnam præſcius peccorreſcit*. He that ſwore either of theſe waies, was properly ſaid to ὀμνύειν, and to yeeld himſelfe up to the mercy of thoſe that were able to puniſh him, if he call'd them to witneſſe that which was contrary to his knowledge, or his meaning. ſo that ſometimes it was the cuſtome to adde an imprecation of ſome evill, wherewith he knew them able to puniſh him, if he ſwore falſe, as *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ Ζῆν' Ἀγάμεμνον, ἠδ' ἄλγεα τῶνδε ἐμοῖο.

By *Iove, and the ſorrowes of my Father*.

The *Womens* oath was commonly *by Iuno*, and *by my Lady Diana*; as * *Clytemneſtra* uſes in *Euripides*, μὰ τὼ δέσποιναν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the ſuperſtitious oath of *By my Lady*, among ſome of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to ſweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Iupiter* Ὅρκιος with three names) *viz*. Ἑρκεῖος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἑξακεστήριος. for that *Iupiter* was the proper *Cuſtos iuramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it doe not appeare, (as ſome ſay it does) in the word *jusjurandum*, *quaſi Iovis jurandum*, it will ſufficiently be prov'd by the plaine teſtimony of the Poet, that ſaies

----- Ζῆνά θ' ὅρκον
Θνατοῖς τιμίαν γεγῶσαι. *Eurip. Med. v. 170.*

But ſo farre were they from being contented to ſweare by none but *Iupiter*, that not only, any *other* of the *gods*, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be deified, did

* *In Electr.*

ſerve the turne, as when *Demoſthenes* ſwore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. thoſe that valiantly dyed in the battle of *Marathon*. Sometimes for over much haſt or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore to chuſe any of the gods, whomſoever him pleas'd to be try'd by, in this manner, ὄμνυμι σὲ τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, as we ſay, *I le lay you what you will*. This forme you may find uſed by *Plato in Phædro*, and by *Ariſtenetus* in his Epiſtle of * *Euxitheus* to *Pythias*. ſometimes they ſwore by many gods together in the plurall number, without ſpecifying whom they meant, and ſometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τὸν Διὸς *Cuſtor* and *Pollux*) --- * μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς ---- by *the whole jury of the gods*, neither honeſt nor true, only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Deos conſentes*, and ſo they put them together. Other times againe, they ſwore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belong'd, expreſſing his name. for ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſſe, they commonly ſwore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν· τὸν Ἀγοραῖον, *by Mercury*. but then you ſhould have ſome, that out of meere *deiſidemony*, would ſay no more then μὰ τὸν - *By &c.* ἐυλαβείας χάριν ἐπινοῦμεν μὴ ὀμνύναι with a * religious *apoſtopeſis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it ſelfe, * μὰ τὸν ὅρκον. νὴ or μὰ with ναὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath, and μὰ for a negative.

* *L. 2 Ep. 2.*

* *Ariſtoph. in Equit.*

* *Ariſtoph. in Ran.*

* *Pind Nem.*

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno.

THE cuſtomes in taking a *Great* oath, if it were in a publike manner, & by way of vindication of the truth, were theſe. The gods uſed to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in

in the Poet bids *Lacheſis* χεῖρας Ἀστῶνα. little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in ſeverall places. Men when they ſwore a great oath, laid downe their hands upon the Altar, as we doe upon the New Teſtament: whereas in a leſſe, or in a private oath made to ſuch or ſuch Man, by way of a bargaine or a promiſe, according to the Roman faſhion, they layd their hand, upon the hand of the party to whom they ſwore. This ceremony I remember *Menelaus* in * *Euripides* demanded of * *Helena* beſides the words of her oath. * *Helen. v.* 834.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμῶν τοῖς γένυσι, δεξιᾶς ἐμῶς λάβε

21ly To honour the gods by whom they ſwore, they ſacrific'd the life of *one* of theſe three beaſts, κάπρος, κριὸς, and τράγος, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goate, or of *three*, and of every ſort one, or ſometimes three of one of the ſorts, as *Adraſtus* was made to doe of three Sheep, in behalfe of the *Argivi*. ---- * λευκὰς τρεῖς τριῶν μήλων τεμὼν which they called μηλοσφαγεῖν Sometimes when they killd a Boare, they cut out the ſtones (ὅρκοι & ὄρχεις are pretty neere kin) and ſtood upon them as they ſwore. a Ramme or a Boare thus us'd is properly call'd τομίας perhaps they uſed to ſacrifice Pigges chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. and good reaſon choyce ſhould be made of that beaſt, rather then any other in ſwearing too, ſince there was ſo great account made of it in other buſineſſes, as ſolemne as that. for 1° *Iupiter* was nurs'd by a Sow, (ſay ſome) and conceal'd by the noyſe of the grunting, and therefore with the *Cretians* his Countrey men, there might be no initiation without it. 2° *Varro* * ſaith *pecoris immolandi initium ſumptum a ſuillo*: that it was the firſt beaſt that was Sacrificed, which made ſome think that ὗς was ſo called, *quaſi* σῦς, and *Sus quaſi Thus*. nay it was a creature ſo greatly ſacred, or imploy'd to a ſacred uſe, that *Sacres* by it ſelfe, is us'd for little pigges conſecrated for a Sacrifice. The fleſh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in theſe was not to be eaten

Ariſt. in Lyſiſt.

* *Eurip. Suppl. v.* 1200.

* *De Re Ruſt.*

Clem. Alex in Strom.

* *Ariſtoph. in Luſis.* * *Schol. Lat. in Il. γ.*

* eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fiſh, for either they buried it in the * ground, or elſe threw it into the Sea, as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was ſacrific'd at an oath of *Agamemnons*.

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

Μικρὸς ὅρκος, or the Little oath (*greater* and worſe then the other, if the god had been God) was when they ſwore by a creature (and their *gods* were hardly ſo much) ſuch as *per Cramben*, or by a Gooſe, or a Dogge, κύνα vel χῆνα, as the Socraticks did, having that practiſe commended to them by their own Maſter, who (as it is in the Scholies upon * *Ariſtophanes*) in his twelfth Book περὶ Κερκίδος, had told them that *Rhadamanthus* the juſteſt man that ever liv'd, had expreſly forbid them to ſweare by the gods, but inſteed thereof had allowed them the uſe of a Dog or a Gooſe, or a Ramme, or ſuch like creatures. ſometimes they ſwore by the ground they ſtood upon, as * *Hippolitus* does in *Euripides*.

* *In Avib.*

* *v.* 1025.

----- κὐ πόδον χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made uſe of. If the matter were ſerious, you might heare them ſwearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*.

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante ſolebat.

* *L. 2.* Which was the reaſon (ſaies * *Atheneus*) firſt, why they accounted the head ἱερόντι, holy and ſacred. 2ly Why they did σφαυνεῖν τὸν πλαμὸν, bow the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly Why the old Philoſophers made ſuch a ſcruple to eat of the head of any kind of creature. and 4ly Why they uſed this oath but ſeldome, accounting it ἀγνὸν ὅρκον, as *Helena* called it when ſhe ſwore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. Ἀλλ' ἀγνὸν ὅρκον σὸν κάρᾳ κατώμοσα.

Eurip. in Hel. v. 841.

The

The Cuſtomes uſed both in the Little and Great oathes too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were ſometimes, creeping upon their hands thorow the fire, or holding in their hands a red-hot Iron, (μυδρὸν they calld it, ſuch a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* *, took the Sunne to be) ſuppoſing (as the Scholiaſt ſaies upon *Sophocles*) πρὸς μὴ ἀνέχειν τὸ ἁμαρτάμενον ἐν τέφρᾳ μὴ ἀλγεῖν, *that if they were not guilty of the crime, they ſhould not be ſenſible of the paine.* thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like cuſtome, we read to have been in uſe among our Saxon anceſtors, and for the ſame purpoſe, under the name of *Fire-Ordeal*. for *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, paſſing blindfolded in the ſpaces between a great many red-hot Plow-ſhares laid on the ground, and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond, holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt thereby, cleared themſelves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, ſolemnly vowing to keep the oath without breaking, as long as the Sea ſhould the Iron without ſwimming. ----* μάχεις τι μύῃ μύῃ μάχας εἰν ἁλὶ μυδρὸς. Sometimes (as I have known Boyes doe among us) they wrot the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it ſwamme, and the water could endure it, he ſwore true: but if it ſunk, and the water would not ſuffer it to be ſeen, he was to be puniſhed immediatly without more adoe, and this puts me in mind of that oath of *Adraſtus*, and the *Argivi* for amity and League with the Athenians, which the Poet ſaies they would have written in the hollow of a *τρίπους*, and the *τρίπους* to be ſent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a teſtimony, and a memoriall

* *Schol. Euripid. in Hel.*

* *Callimach.*

Μνημεῖα δ' ἔρεαν, μαρτύρια Ἑλλάδι.

to be produc'd when occaſion ſhould require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his 8th book *de Clitophontis, & Leucippes amoribus*) ſpeaks of a cuſtome, if a Wench were accuſed of Whore-

Whordome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, & having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnes, with the table about her neck. if ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remain'd as it was. but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (ſaies he) *the very Water growes angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it get up as high as her neck, and cover the table; leaſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould look the Sun and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed. inſomuch that εὐορκος, was commonly uſed for εὐσεβὴς,

In Plut. Οὐδὲ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔστ' οὔτε δικαίου. in *Heſiod.*
and ---- εἰπὲ χαίρεις εὐόρκοις ἔπειτ'. in *Ariſtophanes.*
Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjurious*, and therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Iupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid that they did more hurt to the wicked then others, ſaies he εἰπερ βάλλει τοὺς ὀμόρκους, *if perjur'd men are ſo lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poore Oake tree is ſo often hurted* ὑ γὰρ δρὺς ὀμορκεῖ *ſince it can never be perjur'd.* Such as were common & cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρδήττοι, frõ Ἀρδήττα (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walk the round,
* In Dieb. for no other purpoſe, according to that of * *Heſiod.*

Ἐν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασὶν ἐλεύσεσθαι ἀμφιπολεύειν
Ὅρκον πτοιήσασ' ----

and

and therefore *Agamemnon* when he ſwore that he never had to doe with *Briſeis*, call'd the Furies to witneſſe too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

----- Ἐρινύας αἵθ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθ' ὅστις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

Nay in ſome places, the inſenſible creatures ſeem'd to be ſenſible of the ſinne and ſave the Furies a labour. for I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City of Sicily, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there roſe ſometimes flames, and ſometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people uſed to reſort from other places, for deciding of Controverſies by taking an oath. for if any one ſwore falſe neere theſe fonts, he was preſently ſtrucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Beſides theſe there were other means of their owne appointing to affright men from perjury. ſuch as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος, πάντων ὁπόσα ἀγάλματα δὶς οἷς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the moſt dreadfull manner of any *viz.* with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of braſſe at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegicall verſes, compoſed of purpoſe to terrify ſuch as durſt to invocate that god in falſhood. All this mov'd the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet ſaid of them. *Pauſan. in Eliac.*

Οἷσιν ὕπι βαμοὶ, ὕπι πίστις, ὕδ' ὅρκος μέγα.

Which you will ſay is very likely, if you remember the ſaying of *Lyſander*, one of their own Generalls, ἐξαπατᾶν χρῆναι παῖδας μὲ ἀστραγάλοις πολεμίους ϑ' ὅρκοις, *fallere oportere pueros aſtragalis, hoſtes autem juramentis.*

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leſchis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an Athenian were charitable *and ſo he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as *merry as a Greeke*. Of the goodneſſe of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant teſtimonies, whereby I ſhall make it appeare, how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute beaſts. for the firſt you may heare it from *Demoſthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not ſo ſafe for ſuch expreſſions) they brought going on the way, and carried every one ſomething under his arme, to furniſh him for his journey, inſomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρῃ δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τοῖς πολεμίοις τυγχάνειν ἐχθροῖς, ὅτις οὐκ ἄν τις ἀλλαχόθι φίλους εὑρήσοι. *How ſhall I endure to leave ſuch a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where elſe.* For the laſt you ſhall have two pretty inſtances, as I had them from the ſame [a] Authour. The firſt is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expelled the houſe for killing a Sparrow, that being purſued by another bird fled into his boſome for ſhelter Ὡς οὐκ ὅσια δεδρακυῖα,

[a] *Phot. cod.* 1591.

σαντα (ſaies he) *as if he had not done righteous things.* οὐχὶ ἐρυθ-
χάειν ἀ δ' ἰταμότητος τῷ ἔπει, not ſo much out of love to
the Sparrow, as hatred to *its* conditions. The laſt is of one
Praxitiles, whom for skinning a Ram alive, they puniſhed
much after the ſame manner as the Ramme was, ἀπετυμπά-
νισαν. The goodnes of his nature among his companions, ap-
pear'd either in eating and drinking, or merry talking and
diſcourſe. for there is εὐωχὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ſaies *Theophraſtus*,
good cheere in words, as well as in meate and drinke. *Ari-*
ſtophanes calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα, *eating of words*, *Plautus comede-*
re ſermones: and it may be they might be made ſometimes to
eat their words indeed, if they prated ſo much as by all mens
report they did. for they were ſo λογοποιοὶ (as the character *Theophr.*
termes them) ſo employ'd ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους, *in diſ-*
ſeminandis & ſpargendis rumoribus; and were ſo much given to
ſpend their time in nothing elſe, but either *to heare or to tell*
ſome new thing, that I wonder with what face, they could
call St *Paul* Σπερμολόγον. though I know ſome doe rather
chuſe to fetch the word from λέγω *to gather*, as the Scholi-
aſt on *Ariſtoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be τοὺς ὡεὶ τὰ
ἐμπόρια καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπίπτοντα
ἀνελεγομένους, *ſuch as watch for looſe things that drop out of carriages,*
and gather them up. The places where they met and diſcour-
ſed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for
the better ſort, or Trades mens ſhops for the meaner, like
the Romans Tabernæ. *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but eſpecially thoſe in
the ſhops. and the places themſelves, and the confabulation
therein they called λέσχας μαιεύειν λόγοις, ſaith *Eurip.* and
yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durſt call the convention indicted by
the King, by the name of λέσχη too. Now thoſe ſhops, were
commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb κυρ-
βικὴ λαλιὰ us'd by *Polybius*, i. e. *Barbers talke*, (as we ſay *Like*
like a tooth drawer) but eſpecially Smiths, and ſuch as made
uſe of a Fire, being free for any that would warme them-

ſelves, and without any doores, as the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words in *Heſiod* l. 2. Concerning χαλκεῖον δῶμον &c. Τὰ παλαιὰ (ſaies he) τὰ χαλκεῖα, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἄθυρα ἦν, ἃ καὶ λέσχας ἐκάλουν. & to this belongs that of *Homer*.

Οὐδὲ θύρης ἔνδειν χαλκήϊον εἰς δόμον ἐλθὼν
Ἠὲπῦ εἰς λέσχην. Il. Θ.

The diſcourſe was for the moſt part *de Lunâ Catrinâ* (as they call'd it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childiſh and Idle, well befitting ſuch *Gerruli ſiculi*, as moſt of them were. But the Philoſophers that met in the λέσχαι, which *Hierocles* ſpeaks of, had better diſcourſe, eſpecially being conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore ſaid to have the name of Λεσχηνόριος. ſaith *Suidas*, but it ſhould be rather Λεσχηνέριος, ſaies *Meurſius*: the reaſon was, becauſe ſuch meeting were or ſhould be in the day time, and ſometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a ſet meale amongſt *themſelves*, was anciently, but once a day at ſupper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* in ſeverall places) it is not eaſy to determine. ſome ſay, there were foure meales a day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or διανηστιμὸς, the *Breake-faſt*. 2. Ἄριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. δεῖπνον, the *Beaver*. 4. δόρπον, the *Supper*. juſt ſo many *Athenæus* has, but in this order, *viz.* 1. Ἀκρατισμα. 2. δεῖπνον. 3. Ἐσπέρισμα, or (*Veſperna*) 4. δόρπον. others make but theſe three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. δεῖπνον. 3. δόρπον. you ſee that δόρπον, is the laſt meale ſtill, and ſo it is in *Ariſtophanes*, who after δορπισὸς *ſupper time*, makes it to be preſently Bed-time. To any of theſe meales if they came too late, they call'd it παρασιτηθῆναι, or παρᾶφωνεῖν, which they need not feare, if they had a bell to call them, as *Plutarch* ſaies they had in the Fiſh-market, and therefore termes thoſe whoſe bellies had no eares, but for the *Bell* κώδωνος ὄξεσ ἀκούοντας.

In Veſp.

Sympos c.4.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others*, was when they kept a feast, and thus to spend the mony, was especially called ἀναλισκειν, and δαπανᾶν, and the merriment it selfe, by the name of * ὕβρις, which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministring to the gods at a feast; and from whence ἐφύβες came to be used for a little cup to drinke healths out of. Now a feast was of three * kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2. Γάμος, 3. Ειλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, otherwise called * συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἄγειν ἢ καταβολῆς ἢ δαπάνης πολλῶν τινῶν, was when they joyn'd or club'd for it, and every one brought his *Symbolam* his *part*, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawne*, or his *earnest* with the master of the feast. the earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *dati annuli, locus, tempus constitutum*: and sometimes any other thing, which he that laid out the mony for the feast, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell, or doe what he would with it. The reason why it was not so costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὡς ἂν ἴδιον ἕκαστος * ἴδιον ἔχοντες, was because every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called αὐτοδαῖτοι * *Sodales*. Sometimes they call such a feasting κατάβολον, from *joyning* as we say, or *clubbing*, or *casting* every one his *lot* into one purse. καλεῖται καταβόλια, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδοντες δαπάνην συμποσιάζωσιν, saies *Tzetzes* upon * *Hesiod.* and so likewise sometimes ἀπὸ σποράδος δεῖπνον, from σπείρειν, because the charges came scattered, or sown by severall hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly ὁ Θίασος (they say) has been used for the same, Θιασῶται for the company.

* *Schol in Arist Vesp.*

* *Eustathius in Hom.* * *Aristoph. & Schol.*

* *ibid.* * *Festum.*

* *L. 2.*

Athen. l. 8.

Of this way of Feasting, you have a breefe and large commendation in *Hesiod.*

Μηδὲ παλυξεῖνι δαιτὸς δυσπίμπλα θῦ
Ἐκ κοινῦ πλείης χάριν δαπάνη τ' ὀλίζεη.
Be not averſe from common feaſts; or there
The charge the leaſt is, and the moſt the chere.

Sometimes you ſhould have a Covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very wedding dinner in the manner of an ἔρανος, and every one that comes muſt bring his part with him, and be
a *In Craſſ.* δικόσπορος, as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own coſt.* This kind of feaſting (I think) may very well be
* *Schol in Ariſtoph. Pace.* nam'd πανδαισία, for * that is either when there is meat of *all ſorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they ſit *high piely*, and every one takes where he likes. Ἑιλαπίνη (for οἱ γάμοι we have ſpoken already) uſed to be a little more coſtly πολυτελὴς: it was thus called either, 1. From λάπτειν, the *lapping and tipling* in it, or 2. From their gathering together, or ſitting in *companies*; ὅτι κατ' εἴλας, ἢ ὁμᾶς εἱλόμενοι ἔπινον, or 3. From εἵλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* uſed in the dances,
* *Pindar.* * ἀνδρῶν ἔυφρονες εἵλαι. The company at ſuch a feaſt were called εἱλαπινασταὶ. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poore Women were left by themſelves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδι, unleſſe it were to accompany ſome of their very neare friends, according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his booke. *Nam neq; inconvivium adhibetur niſi propinquorum, neq; ſedet niſi in interiore parte ædium, quæ gynæconitis apellatur, quo nemo accedit, niſi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.* The uſuall cuſtomes in feaſting were theſe. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certaine officers, appointed for the purpoſe to diſcommon them: and to them the Cooks were to repaire, to be examin'd concerning the ſame. beſides thoſe Officers, there was an ὀινόπτης too, to ſee how oft, and how much every one dranke, and if it appear'd that a man was any way ἄσωτος, or intemperate, he was to be puniſhed by the *Areopagus*: which perhaps gave occaſion to the Drunken unthrifts of thoſe times, to call the Greeks μικροστεφανίζους

ζυς, and φυλλυτρώγας, as if they were niggardly in their diet: but if they were indeed such bite-figues, and cummin-cutters as they make them, how came it to passe that *Cookery* was so much in request among them; (σεμνὴ γὰρ ἡ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill * L. 4. in Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chiefe officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the Last indeed very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed, that commonly either the later followed the former, or instead of invitations they sent their friends a piece of the victime.

----- καὶ τὸ δ' ὄψιον
Ταῖς Νύμφαις. Μόρσιμ' ἤδη κρέας αὐτῇ πέμψον.
----- as soon as you
To the Nymphs have offer'd give to *Morsus* too.

CAP. III.

De more Salutandi, Symposiarcho, coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.

WHen the guests were come, the manner of salutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kisse them; and such a kisse as this they called χύτραν *a pot*. The fashion of kissing *Pollux. l. 9. c. 24.* the lipps was but of later daies, and *osculum* may be *osculum upon* any thing so it be *from* the *mouth*. anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck, like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body, as *Xuthus* dear'd to doe to *Ion*.

δὸς χερὸς φίλημά μοι σῆς, σώματός τ' ἄμφὶ πτυχὰς. *Eurip. Ion. v. 518.*

Embracing was the most usuall salutation, insomuch that (if you will believe the * Scholy) the word ἀσπάζομαι used to * *On Aristoph. Plut.* signify to *Salute*, does properly signify to *embrace*, as being deriv'd

deriv'd (saies he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν ἐπαΐδειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἢ ὕπνον. The compellation to such as they respected was usually ἄνερ, *vir honeste, worthy Sir*, rather then κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*.

Eurip. in Supl.

----ὅς ἐυπυκνοῖσι τίμᾳ γεραίρει

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the houshold-stuffe, and the like, according to *his* instructions in * *Aristophanes*.

* *Vesp.*

Ἔστιν ἐπαινέσαι πρὸς χαλκωμάτων
Ὀρθῶς θέασαι-----

The δειπνοκλήτωρ, the Master of the house shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast (for συμποσίαρχος the *Master*, was many times no more then a Master Steward, or * συμποσίου ὀψωνητὴς the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collation) presently had his γραμματίδιον brought him in by the Cooke, a *note* containing the severall sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Moderator*, and the fashion yet in use in Italy, and among us upon *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be Βασιλεὺς *King*, and he to whose lot it fell was to have the whole command of all for matter of drinking, or ceremonies without any restraint; which sometimes prov'd too *tyrannicall* as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι ἐκ κεφαλῆς, *to take the drinke in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.*

* *Pollux. l. 2. c. 1.*

C. 8.

All the while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankinsence and Myrrhe upon the hearth, either that the sence of smelling too, might have a *taste* of the mirth, (ἵνα ὀσμῆς ἔσται for * *smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *angry noses* of the gods, to whom, before they eate any thing themselves, they used to offer a taste of the best of every dish. but how they did it I know not, unlesse they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

* *Athenæus.*

Il. 10.

----ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε δυηλας.

The

The Gueſts before they ſate downe, uſed to crowne their heads with Garlands, made for the moſt part of Myrtle. for ſo I remember the bold gueſt in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drinke. --- σὺ δὲ κεῖνα μυρίνην πλέκου. *bound* his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to ſeeme it from aking. and the Romans it ſeems agree with them herein, for ſaies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto.

The uſe of theſe Garlands, was to coole the head, and ſo to reſtaine the heat of the Wine. neither did they *crowne* their heads only, but *anoint* them too, as if they had been going to *wreſtle* with the ſtrength of the liquour: for ſo ſays *hee in Veſpis*. ---- γυμνασικῶς τὸν χύτλωσον σαυτόν. Ovid and the Romans knew of this trick too it ſeems.

--- *habent unctæ mollia ſertæ comæ.*

* Καταψύχεσθαι τὸ μεθύειν. Saies the Scholaſt upon *Ariſtoph. in Aves.*

Uſing it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores and let them out as ſoone as they came. for the ſame end was it, that the hearb *crambe*, was ſo much uſed in *their* feaſts, as it was alſo among the Ægyptians: and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy ſaid to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, ſo great, that it will not endure to grow neere it: which antipathy (they ſay) has been in it ever ſince * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting downe all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenneſſe, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggs, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare preſently ſprung the *crambe* ſo called quaſi κορίμβλη, from κόρις, or *Pupillæ* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we ſay) in the eyes, to which 'tis thought to be hurtfull.

* χ On *Ariſtoph. in Equit. Act.* 1. *Sc.* 3.

Beſides anointing there was waſhing too, both before and after meat. *that* before had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ χεὶρ χεόδις, the *other* they call ἀπονίψασθαι.

Their *posture* at eating was lying upon κλῖναι *beds* (imitated by the Romau *lecti*) with a στρωμνὸς a *matt* * close by, which had bed clothes and all to sleep upon. Those κλῖναι, were usually cover'd with skinnes, according to that in the * Poet of one that lay snorting upon a full belly.

* Poll. l. 6. c. 2.

* Aristoph. in Eq.

Ῥέγχει μιδὼν ἐν ταῦσι σὺν δορὰς ὕπο.

and some times with Tapistry, for the better sort: for with such *Achilles* his Embassadours are entertain'd in * *Homer*

* Il. 10.

------ ταπήτι πορφυρέοισι.

The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbowes, and therefore *Silenus* in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they sate at meat upon the ground) Θὲς ἡ ἀγκῶνα ἰσχύθμιον, to place his elbow handsomely. They rested their feet upon a ὑπνος, or a foot-stoole, such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Somnus* for the same use.

Τῷ γὰρ ὀπισθίοις λιπαροῖς πόδας ἐλαμπάζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespæ*, asking how he should sit, was bid γόνατ' ἐκτείνειν, to stretch out his knees. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*, unless the man were of a higher *stomack* then he that said *Sit mihi mensa tripes*, for then it might be of another fashion, but usually it was made with three leggs, and an ἐπίθημα upon it, called ὄλμος (in imitation of the *tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deale of religion, so as not to have any uncivill or prophane, or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it, for why (saies *Synesius*) it is holy, and consecrated to *Iupiter* φίλιος, and ξένιος: Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* Πῶς δ' ἄλας, οὐ τράπεζα, οὐ συνέδρια, and to *Iuvenals reverentia mensæ*. The * first that ever dared to prophane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Tereus* his son,, and serv'd him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

a Π. ἀδιαφ. *Sat.* 2.

Paus. in Phoc.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Grecks (they ſay) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Maſts and Acornes for their bread at leaſt, if not for their Meat, and there were βαλανεῖαι, people employd of purpoſe to gather them, there was no *cereale ſolum*, in thoſe daies, no feare of *menſas conſumimus*; 'twas enough for the luxury of *later* daies, to make *paniceas menſas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allnſion to the uſe of this food * *A. Gellius* ſaies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victuſq; antiquiſſimus quernus capi ſolitus ſit.* in remembrance of their *oaken* diet. After maſt, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. for that kind of corne was the [a] firſt in uſe. afterward, when fine Wheat, & teeth came up, it was made a puniſhment to uſe it, as [b] *Suetonius* ſaies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of uſing corne at *firſt* before that mills came up (ὁ μύλος, ſaid to be firſt invented by *Mylas*) was to roſt it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth, & then *pinſere* to *beat* it and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. thoſe that did this the Romans called *pinſores*, which afterward came to *piſtores*, *bakers*. We read of קָלִי *parched ſtuffe* among the Iſraelites too, even there where we read of flower, and ſo it was not for need that they uſed it. in time it came to varieties, and I alſo might ſay a great deale concerning them, as likewiſe of their uſuall diſhes at feaſts, both of fiſh and fleſh, but you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little paine, and leſſe profit. only I deſire to obſerve one thing, that of all the parts of a beaſt, the braine might by no meanes be ſeen upon a table, for they loath'd to eate it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eate a *beane*, and thought that none but he that had loſt his ſences, would offer to devoure that, from

Virg. Æn.

* *L. 5. c. 6.*

[a] *Artemidor. l. 1. c. 71.*

[b] *In Aug. c. 24.*

Serv. ad Æn. 1.

2. Sam. c. 17. v. 28.

which all the *ſences* had their *life*. nay ἐγκέφαλος the *braine*, might not be in their mouthes to *ſpeake* it, as well as to eat it. and therefore *Sophocles*, when he ſpeaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the ſea, and daſhing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the braine *white marrow of his head*. In Trachin.

Κύμης ἔχλυσεν, μύελον ἐκπαλὴς μέσου
Κρατὸς ----

Hecuba in *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Aſtyanax* his throwing downe from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the ſame manner, calling it ὀσίων ἔκγονον φόνον, adding withall εἰ αἰδεσθὲν λόγῳ *with Reverence be it ſpoken.*

But as for the Entralls, ἀλλᾶντες, no diſh ſo common as that, inſomuch that you ſhould have ſome covetous fellowes make a feaſt of nothing elſe. ſuch a feaſt they call'd more peculiarly ἔλεον, or μαγειρικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was ſerv'd up in diſhes of wood, or of braſſe (for the better ſort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drinke* which they had at feaſts, during meale time, was uſually wine mingled with water, to allay the ſtrength of it, and this mixture they ſay was the invention of *Amphictyon* (him whom they report to have firſt inſtituted the meeting of the ſeven Cities called *Concilium Amphictyonicum*) but I have another ſtory for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Phyſitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* firſt brought his Vines from the *Red-ſea* into *Greece*, the people came preſently flocking to the Sea ſide, and fell ſo immoderately to the liquor, that ſome became dead-drunk, and ſome raving mad. others that came later, being driven away by a ſudden tempeſtuous ſhowre, when they return'd againe, found ſome of the raine *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, πεσοῦσαν δὲ ἄλυπον εἶχον ὑπόλαυσιν, notwithſtanding felt no ſuch effects as the formes did, but continued ſober. This (they ſay) is the reaſon, that at the firſt bringing in of the κεκραμένου, or *mixed* * L. 15.

mixed wine to the table, they uſed to remember διὰ Σωτῆρα, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, & the *mixture*: to which they added the *health* διὸς Ολυμπίε, if the feaſt were a *victors*-feaſt, and ὠρχιτὰ γάμω, if it were at a Wedding; altering the name of the health, according to the occaſion of the feaſt. and yet *Sophocles* ſeems to make the third *round* to be to *Jupiter Servator*

---- χὴ διὸς σωτῆρος
Σπονδὴ τέλειτ᾽ ἐφάπτορος.

Preſently after meale came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in puris naturalibus* whereof (it may be) προπόσις *promulſis*, or *guſtatio*, the *firſt taſt* before they went to eating uſed to be the great *Crater* being fill'd, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the *good Genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the *goodly* god that invented the liquor; this health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθᾶ δαίμονος, and ſo to drinke it ἐπιῤῥοφεῖν ἀγαθᾶ δαίμονος, making it a religious buſineſſe, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink offering, as he ſaies. Σπονδὴν λάβε, χὴ σπεῖσον ἀγαθᾶ δαίμονος, & many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαίμων ἀγαθὲ. ſome ſay this health was at the beginning of the feaſt. bnt they did but ſip at it, & therefore *Heſychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονιεῖ, for ὀλιγοπιεῖ, *little drinkers*. The laſt health of all which they drunke juſt as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of ſleeping and dreams *Aristoph. in Eq.*

---- Ἀργειφόντη
οἱ πυμάτῳ σπένδεσκον ----

for that was the reaſon (ſaies *Atheneus*) διὰ χὸ Ἑρμῆς ὕπνε αἴτιος ἦν: yet ſome ſay it was διὸς πτολεία. Ασκὸς, the bottle or veſſell out of which they fill'd the Wine, was uſually made of the skinne of a Boare, and therfore in *Luſiſtrate* (*Ariſtophanis*) it is call'd by the name of Κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα *bloud*, and the powring it out σφάγια *ſlaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then. *In Veſp.*

When one friend drank to another, they call'd it φιλοτήσιον κύλικα, or φιλοτησίαν, a *cup of good friendſhip*, and ſuch kind of expreſſions ἀξιώσεις, *takings or pledgings*, according to that

---- χρυσοῖς δεπάεσσι
δεξίχατ' ἀλλήλες ---- And thus if a great man kept the feaſt, when he drank to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. but if he drank a health to one whom he lov'd (ἐρωμένῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himſelfe, and beſtowed the reſt upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would ſit up drinking for a wager all the night and he that could keep himſelfe waking 'till morning, had a τυρόπης, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, juſt as the women uſed to have in the *Theſmophoria*. in ſuch mad fits as theſe they were wont to have γρῖφοι, riddles propos'd, which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup, and if any one were weary, he might not depart unleſſe he had leave, (perhaps it was unleſſe he *took* his leave) of the Maſter of the feaſt. and heare I might eaſily ſpeake enough of their Κόπαβοι, but I think a *little* is ſufficient, and *that* I have done already.

Now the cupps wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes. ἐν πολλῇ χρεῖα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Nicander*, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κερᾶσαι, inſomuch that the word κερᾶσαι, to fill drink, ſeem'd to be deriv'd from κέρατα thoſe hornes. *Scilicet*. hence it was that they uſed to picture *Bacchus* with *Bulls horns*, nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occaſioned ſome to call him downe-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull, and the reaſon of thoſe phancies was (ſaies the Scholiaſt) διὰ τὸ ταυρωπικὸν εἶδος πινόντων, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἰσχύει ſtrange (ſaies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of thoſe that uſe his liquor. but the beſt is, *dat Deus immiti cornua curta bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they ſeem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his ſake too no queſtion, to whom the wood belongs) Ποτῆρα δ' ἐν χείρεσιν κίσσινον λαβών.

Eurip. Alc. v. 756.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à diſcumbentibus fieri ſolebant.

FOR their behaviour at table, ſpetting and coughing, and ſpeaking loud, was counted uncivill in any but a Gentle-man (or a *Senior*, in whom nothing is *freſh*) and to him it was a glory αἰ μαλὰ πάνυ, ſaies *Stobæus*, to ſpet ſtoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it *clarè excreare*. But paring of nailes was ſuch a ſordid thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Heſiod* (as 'tis thought) long ſince *ab-ominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it to hit his meaning?

Μηδ' ἐπὶ πυρὶ ἕζεσθαι ἀκτῆς ἐπὶ δαιτὶ θαλείῃ L. 2. *Oper.*
Ἥμενον ἐν χαλκῷ τέμνειν ἀίδηλον ὀνύχων.

Nor from the *five-branch'd greene* doe with a knife
At feaſting cut the *withered* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his παῖς, or his *Pedee*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ἀποφορήτα, choyce bits, or ſuch dainties as they lik'd beſt to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat baſe, and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. thoſe boyes or ſervants were commonly black-moores, after the faſhion of the Romans

----- *tibi pocula curſor*
Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus oſſea Mauri.

Your μοῖραι, *portions*, which we read of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choyceſt diſhes at a feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent: for ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrific'd at *Corinth*, and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acharnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding,

Ἔπεμψέ τις σοι συμπόλῳ ταυτὶ κρέα
Ἐκ τ' γάμων.

And

And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as *Elkanah* did to his Wife, and alſo at feaſts (as thoſe were bid to doe by *Nehemiah*) uſed to ſend מנות *portions to them for whom nothing was prepared.* When they had greas'd their fingers, they would take a piece of ſoft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens è magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for ſo they call'd the bread from ἀπομάσσειν *to wipe*; ſuch a thing as their Cookes σαὶς or χλιβανίτην, *course bread* which they had for the ſame uſe.

* 1. Sam. 1. 4.

a Nehem. c. 8. 10.

The *deſert* conſiſted of nuts and fruit, and all ſorts of junkets. they call'd this ſervice, by the ſeverall names of *ἐπικλα τραγήματα ἐπιφορήματα ἐπεισόδια ἐπιδόρπια, or μεταδόρπια, *Epidorpia menſæ*. And now to *crowne* all with dauncing and muſick, which *Homer* calls *ἀναθήματα δαιτὸς, (uſually accompanied with ἀοιδήματα, merry ſongs, and tales) becauſe they themſelves ſpent moſt time in *practiſing*, I ſhall be bold to ſpend a little the more in relating.

* or ἐπίκλα

* *Coronæ Convivii.*

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali & Scoliis.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Platos Protagoras*, ſpeake againſt the uſe of Muſick at a *Feaſt*, and *Euripides* ſay it were better us'd at a *Funerall*, to make the Mourners merry; yet you ſhall find *Xenophon* himſelfe in himſelfe commending, & *Phemius* in *Homer* practiſing the ſame. Now the cuſtome was when they came to the dauncing and the Muſick, (whereas at *Meale-time* leſſe cupps would ſerve) *then* to have greater, and a *freſh* bowle (κρατῆρες) to begin with, for ſuch a one they had at every change, if they obſerv'd that faſhion we read of in *Euripides*.

Odyſſ. I.

Τοῦ

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς αὐλὸς ἦλθεν εἰς κρητῆρα τι
Καινὸν, γέρων ἔλεξεν ἀφαρπάζων χρεὼν
Οἰνηρὸν ἁλὶ σμικρὸν, μιαλατ' ἀσφάξειν.

* *In Ion. v.* 1177.

The ſong moſt common amongſt them was *Harmodius*, ſo call'd (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, and as we call *our* ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was ſung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death, and of whom it is reported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beaſtly* a name as *Lupa*) ſo faithfully lov'd their bodies, that when ſhe was rackt by the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit it in his face. the beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλταται Ἁρμώδιε, ὔπου σὺ τύθνηκας, &c. you have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *Acharnenſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus* (for moſt of *their* ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the praiſe of one famous worthy or other) it began thus, Ἀδμήτου λόγον ὦ ἱππᾶτα μαθὼν, τὸν ἀγαθὸν φίλει, τὸν δειλὸν δ' ἀπέχου, &c. where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθὸν to δειλὸν. for ſo you ſhall find κακὸν, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckon'd *virtutem* (as they call'd it) valour and fortitude, ehe only virtue worthy the name. beſides theſe two which I have nam'd, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch in Authors, under the name of Σκόλια, I will only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes* againſt riches.

Ὄφελες ὦ τυφλὸ πλοῦτε
Μήτ' ἐν γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ μήτ' ἐν Ἠπείρῳ
Φανῆναι
Ἀλλὰ πάρπεμψόν τε παίσῃ κ' Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά.

Vid. Sch. in Ariſtoph. Ran.

Thoſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt invented by one * *Terpander*. they were ſo called either firſt

* *Plutarch. de muſ.*

διὰ τὸν λίαν ἐπὶ κλινῶν σκολιάν, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ranæ*, from the crooked placing of the beds, and the lying of the gueſts upon them. or elſe 2ly (as the Scholy ſaies upon the ſame Poet in *Veſpis*) from the flexuous, diſorderly manner in the ſinging: for there were in uſe among the Greeks (ſaies * *Dicæarchus*, περὶ μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων) three waies of ſinging ſongs at ſuch meetings, the firſt ἅμα πάντων, by all together. thed 2d καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they ſate. the 3d One after another but ἐναλλάξ, not in order, and ὑπὸ συνεπιστάτου, either by ſuch as had beſt skill, or by ſuch as he that ſung laſt, ſhould pleaſe to chuſe. I ſay to chuſe forin ſinging a *Scolium*, as tis properly us'd, this was the cuſtome. He that *Scolid* firſt, took him a Myrtle rod, called ἀδωνὰς from ἄδειν and ἔρως (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*) and holding it in his hand like a *thyrſus*, begun in any place of *Simonides* or *Steſichorus*, or *Æſchylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleas'd. the verſes which they ſung, they call'd by the name of ἐφυμνίδια, or ἐμβατηρίδια, or στιχηρίδια, from the στίχοι, or the rods, as being *apta virgæ*, in the words of *Apuleius*. when he had done, he deliver'd his bough to whom he thought fit. and he to whom the bough was deliver'd, was to goe on where the tother left off, and thus it went round 'till all had done, and then he tha was judg'd by the company to have come off beſt, and have *capt* the reſt, had his ᾠδὴν (as they call'd it) *i.e.* a cup, or ſome ſuch thing for his reward, unleſſe they ſung ſome of *Homers* verſes, for then both the bough was Lawrell, and the prize a Lamb, from whence they were called ἀρνῳδοί, as well as *Homeriſtæ*. Others ſay it was the cuſtome preſently after taking away, to have a harp goe from one to another, and every one as he was beſt able, or as his mind gave him, to ſing to the Harpe, with a bough in his hand beſides. A third reaſon of the name is given by *Orus* a Grammarian: *viz.* becauſe the eyes and the underſtanding of thoſe that ſung, were by over ſtrong drinke become σκολιοὶ, or διεστραμμένοι, diſtorte

* *Schol. in Ran.*

Euſtath. Il. 1.

χ. Ariſtoph. in Nub.

distorted, as they are in Mad-men, for ἰμμάτων ὀρθῶν, and ὀρθῆς φρενὸς, *right eyes, and a right mind*, are well put together. 4ly The ſong was called Σκόλιον, (ſaies the* Scholiaſt) by the figure *antiphraſis*, becauſe it was leaſt difficult of any, and μέλος ὀλιγόστιχον, *conſiſted but of a few ſtaves*. but this etymology in another place of the ſame book is utterly diſlik'd, τὸ γὰρ ἀνάπαλιν ὅτι τὸ εὐφημούμενον μεταλαμβάνεσθαι, ἐπὶ τὰναντία, *becauſe that figure Antiphraſis, is alwaies by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name*. *Origen* (they ſay) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly compriz'd all ſuch things, as ſeem'd to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. * *Pericles* is ſaid to have made his Laws, in the manner of *Scolies*, I think not for any obſcurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

[a] *Soph. in Oed. Tyr.*

* *In Ramis.*

* *Q. Ariſt. in Ran.*

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not oppos' (what ever it may ſeem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὀρθὸν μέλος (which might be ſung by one alone, whereas the *Scolys* could not) ſo called not becauſe it was ſung *right* along and in order, but either becauſe the perſons ſung ὀρθίᾳ, that is (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blaſt*, like the * *trumpet*, or becauſe it was ſung κατὰ νόμον ὀρθιον, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* ſaies *Arion* playd after that way upon the ſhip, and *Euſtathius* and *Suidas*, ſay that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander* τοῦτο Ἄρεος ἔπλησεν &c. *So mov'd his ſpirit, that he leapt immediatly to his armes and took them up to fight*. Inſteed of *Scolies*, ſometimes you ſhould have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none ſo ſoone as *Menanders*.

* *Iudges 7. 5.*

But amidſt all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableneſſe and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they ſay was the uſe they made of them) they had their σιμάτια, *oſcilla*, or *oſſiſula*, like thoſe which they uſed at Rome at the feaſt *Sigillaria*, or ſuch as * *Auguſtus* is ſaid to have plaid with (*talis aut oſſiſulis ludebat cum pueris*) things ſo artificially made with joynts and pins, that in ſo many throwes

* *Suet. c. 83.*

they would yeeld you a thouſand ſhapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feaſt, thrown thoſe things on the table, preſently cry'd out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might.

Heu, heu nos miſeros, quam totus homuncio nileſt!
Sic erimus cuncti, poſtquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet eſſe bene.

And juſt ſo the Ægyptians us'd at feaſts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin, for he that brought him in, bid every one πίνε καὶ τέρπου, ἔσῃ γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος, *to eate and drinke, for to morrow he ſhould dye.*

Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Gueſt* or for an *Alien*, ſo it were not a *god*, was allwaies had in ſo religious eſteeme at *Athens*, ὡς αὖ σπουδῇ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν εἶναι αὐτὸν ὃς ἂν κακώσειε ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholie* ſaith upon *Euripides*) *if any one wrongd a ſtranger*, he *was look't upon as a prophane curſed fellow:* according to the Poet himſelfe in another* place.

* *In Helen.*

* *In Taur. v. 468.*

---- Let goe the ſtrangers hands,
Which being ſacred may not be in bands.

And good reaſon; for ---- πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες ξένοι ---- all ſtrangers haec *Jupiters* own Letters of protection, and therefore no *dolus* ſo *malus*, as ξενοκτονία. Now this eſteeme they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of Ζεὺς ξένιος, or εὔξενος: you may call him *Jupiter Hoſpes*, for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoſis* ſpeaks of *Iovis hoſpitis Ara* an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhoſpital people, for *their brutiſh inhumanity*, are ſeid to have been turn'd into *Ceraſtas* bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius* as much as he was for the *ſtrangers*, was better *known* and honour'd then any of the *Jupiters* beſides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξενίου Διὸς πολλαὶ τιμαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι, as if he

* *L. 10. Fab. 6.*

he had car'd more for them then other people.

Jupiter hospitibus nem te dare jura loquuntur. *Virg. Æn. 1.*

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleas'd with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertain'd by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preserv'd the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expresly commanded them τὸν ξένον μὴ ἀδικεῖν, *not to wrong a stranger.* and this made *Aristippus* upon *Socrates* his information presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. nay saies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforc'd with the penalty of publique execrations. *Xenoph. l. 3. Απομν.* *L. de Offic.*

If a *stranger* had received any wrong (because they might not be so *familiar* as to doe it themselves) there were πρόξενοι, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as πρόξενοι to entertaine them, unless you will say that these last officers were not for ξένοι, that is *hospites* only such as tarri'd a while and away, but for ξένοι, that is μέτοικοι, or *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came: for those were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearly rent to the Citty, the Men twelve, and the * Women six Drachmes, which if they did not pay, they sold them, and put them into the ships for gally-slaves, as not reckoning them *clean* corne, and true Citizens, any more then * *Aristotle*, but only (in the words of *Aristophanes*) ἄλυρα καὶ ἀσῶν, *the out casts and chaffe*, and no more. even the *Cretians* themselves (as *evill beasts* as they were) seem to have had *humanity* enough in this respect, otherwise what meant their ξενικαὶ τράπεζαι, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept of purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shew'd by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone. ** Isæus contr. Elpagor.* ** L. 3. Polit.* *Athenæus.*

I muſt confeſſe indeed the *Lacedemonians* heare but ill for their ξενηλασία, and *Lycurgus* his Law againſt admittance of ſtrangers but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them thē too, which made the Poet (even in *Pace*) brand them with the name of δημοξένους: nay it is ſaid how that they never made any λεωτροπίρυς, (as they cali'd it) *free of their city* but only two, *viz.* *Tiſamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But ſtill I hope their ξένοι *ſtrangers*, were all one with βαρβάροις *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often uſed, ſaies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*. for elſe certainly *Plato* would never have given ſuch commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of *policy*, as it is inconſiſtent with the *name* of πολιτικὴ, to care moſt for ones *private* good.

CAP. VIII.

De Hoſpitibus excipiendis.

IF the Athenians were ſo kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every ſtranger*, properly ſo called, what were they (think you) τοῖς δημοξένοις, to their *own ſtrangers* (as we uſe to call it) or to their ſworn *gueſts*, that had their ἀσφάλειον, or σύμβολον, or *teſſeram hoſpitii*, ſome thing or other like a ticket, to ſhew for their quarter when they came: ſuch as *Jaſon* in curteſy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοισι τε πέμπειν σύμβολ' οἱ δέχεσθαι σ' εὖ.

So farre were the ξενοδόχοι, thoſe that entertain'd gueſts (you may call *them* ξένοι too, for it is a name for both, like *hoſpes* perhaps to ſhew their neer relation) from ſo much as ſuſpecting a returne of hatred for kindneſſe, that it coſt *Dio* no leſſe then his life, who though he were forwarnd of an intention of *Callippus* his gueſt to murther him, took no care to avoid him, ἀχωθεὶς, *being aſham'd* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de Vitioſo pudore*) φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, to *beware*

ware of one that was his friend and *gueſt* too. (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining a ſtranger was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him, * πρῶτον ἐπιχθόνιοι φρένες, the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eat *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cænam*, ſaies * *Terence*. When he came to the doore (as ſome ſay) they both joyn'd *feet* on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad hoſtium, & junebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* and therefore *hoſpes* is ſaid to be deriv'd from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium* a *doore*, and *pes* a *foot*. When he came in, they call'd for the *Strangers bottle* (as he ſaies in * *Electra*, ἀσκὸν ὃν φέρω ξένοις) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they ask'd his name (ſaith *Athenæus*, ὡς τῷ ξένῳ αἰτίῳ τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' ὃ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ, *as giving him honour, becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* now they us'd Wine rather then any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author) becauſe they took it to be, ἐλκυστικὸν τ φιλίας, πρὸς θερμαῖνον τὸν ψυχὸν, &c. *Powerfull to warme the affection too as well as the ſtomack.*

Pindar.

* *In Heaut.*

Veſtus Diction.

* *Eurip. v.* 511.

Idem. Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with was Salt, intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſo ſeaſon'd with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. all the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had. They made their own daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him Water in a Baſin, and waſh his feet with their own hands, as may be prov'd by ſeverall places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient cuſtome, ποιεῖ δ' Ὅμηρος καὶ τὰς κόρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας λούσας τοὺς ξένους ἀρχαῖον δ τοῦτο ἔθος (ſaith he) 22 They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers apart from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers, which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the * Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* comming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted ἀίσχεσθαι, ſo unfit

* *L.* 1.

* *V.* 543.

unfitt to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there says) was therefore about to be gone againe, replyed; *no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.*

Χωρὶς ξενῶνες εἰσὶν, οἷς σ' ἐποίξομεν. *For we have Chambers on the other side of the house which wee keep only for strangers, and you shall be there.*

3ly When they sate at Meales, they had a table also to themselves, as may be conjectur'd by that which *Oreſtes* had at his being in *Athens*

Eurip. Electr. v. 849. ----- ξένια μοι τράπεζά τ' ἐμὴ Παρῆν ὁρᾶν οἴκων. ------

Lastly they had τὰς Καρικὰς *places* allowed them at the *shewes*, institutted by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to returne respect againe to the people of the house, as at his coming into the Country, he ought to doe reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse

Ovid. Met. l. 3. *Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaq; oscula terræ*
Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosq; salutat.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to doe Divine service, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς, unto *their* gods especially, or the gods of the *place*, as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*, and as they themselves if they had been from home at their returne, were to doe θεοῖς τοῖς κτ' οἴκους (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *house*. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when hee came to the borders, he kiss'd the ground and so took his leave of the *Genius*, as *Ovid* saies

Id. Herc. v. 609.

--- *dant oscula terræ Troades* ----

Met. l. 13. Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an uncivility to detaine him: this *Menelaus* himselfe practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξένον πρεσβύτα φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα ϗ πέμπειν.

At parting they usually gave ξενήια δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, some thing or other for a remembrance, or to beare their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there was

was πανδοχεῖον, a common Hoſpitall maintain'd by the City, where if any ſtrangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magiſtrate & be righted. Indeed a murtherer or ſuch like perſon, they might not by any means πνεῖ δέχεσθ (as he * calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aquæ & igni interdictum*. The firſt that ever built a *Xenodochium*, was *Hyrcanus*, whom *Ioſeph* and *Egeſippus* report to have taken 3000. talents of gold out of *Davids* Sepulchre; 300 whereof he gave to *Antiochus*, to remove the Siege, and build a Hoſpitall with the reſt to make ſatisfaction.

* *Eurip.*

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus ſublevandis.

AND now in the laſt place, I have a word to ſay alſo, of the good will, which the *Athenians* bare to the poore. and certainly if they intended no more then the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to ſuffer any to become a beggar; of whom *Iſocrates* ſaies in his *Areopag.* τὸν πόλιν κατήσχυνε, *that he is a diſparagement to the city wherein he lives*. To prevent this diſgrace, every ἑταιρία or *Society*, kept a *poore-mans box*, or a common Treaſury, for the reliefe of ſuch as came to poverty, and the ranſome of Captives. into that box once every month, they uſed συμφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum*, (as *Plautus* ſaies *verum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐράνων πληρωταὶ. he that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was ſaid συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸ ἔρανον, as in *Ariſtotle* (*Acroas l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this inſtance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happen'd by chance*; if a creditor, ἔχων τὴν ὑπολαβὴν τὸ ἀργύριον ἤλθεν αὖ κομιζόμενος τὸ ἔρανον, *With his Bond in his hand ſhould come to his debtor for mony, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the Pariſh* (as we ſay)

* *In Curcul.* *Harpocr.*

for a collection. Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον πατρῷον, appointed by *Ariſtides* for thoſe that aſſiſted him in the Warre againſt the *Medes*, of which *Ariſtophanes* in his *Luſiſtrate*. If there hapned any controverſy in this buſineſſe, there were Δίκαι ἐρανικαὶ, Laws and Writs made for the purpoſe.

* *L. 9. de Leg.* *Plato* ſpeaks very well of this * cuſtome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his anſwer to *Pliny* approves of it, permitting the uſe thereof to the *Amiſeni* (for other Citties had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, ſi tali Collatione &c.*

Other proviſion there was beſides this *eranus* for their reliefe. for the richer ſort were wont every new moone, to make a great feaſt of Bread, and other courſe fare: which feaſt being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occaſſion to them, to call every courſe beggarly feaſt, by the nome of *Hecates cæna.* but as bad as the fare was, the *perſon* in *Pluto Ariſtophanis*, took his argument even from thence, to commend the condition of the poore, above that of the rich. ſaies he

---- ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἑκάτης ἔξεστι τῶν συβήνων
ἔνθα τὸ πλυτεῖν, ἔνθα τὸ πεινῶν βέλτιον &c.

Aſke Hecate, and ſhe will tell which is beſt. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, mony allowed them out of the Treaſury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and the *ſhewes*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

HAving ſpoken of the cuſtomes uſed by the Athenians amongſt *themſelves*, it will be fitting in the next place to ſay ſomething of thoſe which they uſed towards their *enimies*; and after that of thoſe towards either, or both, in Divinations.

The Warlike proviſion which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being Liſted *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you, at the age of Eighteen) were from that time 'till twenty, ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις (as they call'd it) that is, they muſt be *circitores*, or *fraxatores*. or they muſt περιπολεῖν τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον φρούρια, ſtand ſentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employ'd in the making of Works and the like, according to that of * *Terence*, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit nam ibi cuſtos publicè eſt nunc.* The firſt of the two years they kept within the City, but the ſecond they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a Shield, and a Speare, and a χλαμυς, or

Harpocr.

* *In Eunucho.*

Suid.

or Coat for a Livery. during these two years, they could not be compelled to fight ὑπηρεσίοι, *without the Liberties.* but ever after 'till forty they might. and both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two years, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, registred in this manner, ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ τότε ἐπωνύμει. *such a one in pay ever since such a one was Archon Eponymus,* to shew how long every man had been in service. of these ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the nũber of the years from eighteen to forty. they are call'd ἐπώνυμοι λέξεις, from the λεξιαρχικον γραμματεῖον, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old; and sometimes ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, because they thus kept a note of every mans *age*, in oppolition to Ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes.* Now some there were that were *exempted*, and some that were *excluded* from the service: the former were such as Custome-holders ὅτι τὸ τέλος πεπώκασι, who therefore had the priviledge τῆς ἀτελείας: or the χοροδιδάσκαλοι. *i.e.* ὅτι τῷ Διονύσῳ χορεύουσι, *Bacchus his Salii*, or *dauncing Priests.* The latter were, οἱ δοῦλοι, slaves and all such *proletarious* People, who were not to be employ'd but in case of necessity, nor had the honour ἐν καταλόγῳ στρατεύεσθαι, which the others had: for *they*, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus*, ὃ καταισχύνει τὸ ὅπλα, were listed by the Ὁπλομαρχος, or Generall (as many as he κατέλεξεν *made choice* of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the Κατάλογος or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having besides that another πίναξ or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti out of service*, and discharged. After they had been listed by the Generall, they were to be listed againe by the under Officer, the ὁπλῖτης, or the foot by the ταξίαρχοι, and the Horse-men by the φύλαρχοι. The ὁπλῖται were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much Armour. βαρυτάτη ὁπλίσει and were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. 2ly Ψιλοὶ, *Levis*

Vlpian ad Olymph.

Festus de V. Atb.

Demost. in Mid.

Levis armaturæ milites, ſuch as had little or no Armour, but carri'd Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the ſling. and 3ly Πελτασταὶ, a middle ſort between both, with their πέλται, or ἀσπίδιαι, *narrow Shields and ſhort Speares*. Such as they made choyce of for Horſe-men, were to be δυνατώτατοι τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι (ſaies Xenophon) *able both in body and purſe*, and therefore were to be examin'd firſt by the *Senate of* 500, before they could be liſted; and ſo were likewiſe the Horſes themſelves, to try whether they were λακτίζοντες *skittiſh*, or Ψοφώδεις (as the Scholiaſt calls it) *Noyſe-proofe*. and this they did τῷ κώδωνι καὶ ψόφῳ, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle-drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I ſhall render it. And now I am put in mind of the Κώδων, which they uſed to make a noyſe withall, when they did περιπολεῖσθαι *Walk the Round*, to try whether the Guards were a ſleep or no, which thy called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζειν.

---- Κωδωνοφορεῖται, παντεχῇ
Φυλακαὶ κατάκλησαι ----

Inſomuch that Κωδωνίζειν, is uſed for the ſame with Πειράζειν, *to try, or prove*, as *in Batrachis*, ὃ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω: and ἀκωδώνιστον, for ἀπείρατον *intentatum*. as in *Luſiſtrate*, καὶ περιφορὰ πάντας ἐλέγχει οὐκ αἰσχύνη ἀκωδώνιστον ἐᾶς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα μαθόντας. If a Horſe had been τετρυμμένος *worne and beaten out* with long ſervice, they mark'd him in the Jaw with the ſigne of a Τροχὸς (a wheele I think) and gave gave him his τρυσίπποιον; for ſo they call'd both the mark and the diſcharg it ſelfe: whence came the proverb uſed by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοι ὀπισθίᾳ τρυσίππιον, to giue a man his τρυσίππιον, that is his *diſcharge*. All their Horſes the Greeks reckon'd to be conſecrated to the Sunne, and *Beda* upon the *Kings*, gives this reaſon, *Audientes Græci ab Iraeliticis*, (*quos divinas haberè literas fama prodebat*) *quod Helias curru igneo, & equis igneis ſit ad cæleſtes tranſlatus* (*vel certè hoc ipſum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes*) *crediderunt vicinià decepti nominis Solis hic tranſitum per cælos eſſe deſignatum, & miraculum divinitus factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris*, &c. becauſe *He-*

Heſych.

lias once was carri'd up to heaven with Horſes, therefore *Helius* or the Sunne, muſt be thought to have horſes conſecrated to his ſervice for ever after.

1. Poll. l. 8. c. 10. The Horſe-men, firſt, ſome were διμάχαι, that had two *waies to fight*, with Armour for the purpoſe, and a boy to hold their horſe while they fought a foot (a faſhion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) 2ly Some were ἱππαγωγοὶ, that had two *Horſes*, one to ride upon, and the other to lead: from ἄγω. Their manner of life was very high and ſtately, for many times they would πομπεύειν, that is, have a *tranſvection*, or ride into the City in Pompe, and triumph with a Coach, and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, uſually called by the name of a ξυσὶς, as it is in theſe verſes.

Ὅταν τυ μίγας ὢν ἅρμ' ἐλαύνῃς πρὸς πόλιν
Ὥσπερ Μεγακλέους ξυσὶδ' ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horſe, or ſit in the chaire. *aurigæ* then were called ἡνιόχοι, and were better then ὀχεβάται, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horſe-men was greater or leſſe, according to the number of the people. otherwiſe (as *Pollux* ſaith) every ναυκράρια (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Moſt of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *aſſidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, inſomuch that they reckond it a very diſgracefull thing to be *ærarii*, or *metelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, becauſe it was ſo often chang'd, I think I had better be ſilent. and concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be ἀξυρηδάιτους, and to weare long haire, as ſome ſay: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχωσιν ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ αἰτίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, *that the enemy might have no holdfaſt*, ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Theſeus*, where he ſaies alſo that the faſhion

faſhion being firſt us'd by *Theſeus*, was therefore called Θησηὶς.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vimpropulſabant.

THE firſt makers of Armour are ſaid to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Mettall whereof it was made at the firſt was Braſſe ſaies * *Pauſanias*, but for want of Iron, ſaies *Heſiod.* * *In Laconic.*

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο μίλας δ' ἀκὸς οὐδεν ἐθεν.

The moſt noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the coat of Maile. The moſt noted thing in the Helmet, was the *Creſt*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore call'd by *Aiſæus*, Καρικὸς λόφος the thing, or the part wherein, or whereto it was faſtend they called σφήκωμα, and to faſten it σφηκῶσαι.

Πλοκμοὶ δ' ὑπὸ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκατο. *Homer.*

The Creſt was double or treble, according to the quality of the perſon, for if he were an *heros*, it might be treble ſaies [a] *Euripides*, and *quadruple* ſaies [b] *Apollonius*. a *In Oreſt.* b *L. 2.*

Τετραλόφοις φοίνιξι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπετο πίλης.

The ſtuffe whereof it was made, was uſually feathers, and the haire of a Horſe-taile; and thence it is that it is called ἱππουρὶς, and ἱππόκομος τρυφάλεια, in * *Theocritus*; and that it is ſaid [c] τειχορρυεῖν, when the haire fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare, the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρύες the *eyebrows*, and the reſt except the *Penthouſe* τὸ γεῖσον. Of the *ſhield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of ſeverall kinds, for ſometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil.* * *Id.* 23. c *Ariſtoph. in Pace.* *Æn.* 7.

----- *flectuntq; Salignas*
Umbonum crates ----- (but then they call'd it ἰτέαν) and ſometimes of wood, but moſt commonly of raw Oxe hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid *Heſych.*

laid one upon the other. *Ovid* ſaies, *Ajax* had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had ſeaven pieces of or foldings in it; and *Achilles* another that had tenne. neither was this all, for it was done over with Braſſe beſides, as that of *Achilles* was,

---& æs, & proxima rupit
Terga novena bonum, decimo tamen orbe moratum eſt.

* *Troad. v. 1336.* And therefore in * *Euripides* it is called χαλκόπωλος ἀσπὶς. For the forme of it, it was ſometimes long, ſometimes round, and ſometimes ſquare. the names of the ſeverall parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux L.1.c.10.* Only thus much I may tell you, firſt for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curioſity, both for ſhew and for uſe, as having κύγχυς ornaments to be ſeen, and καγχάματα little holes to ſee others by, ſet in the τύπος or the border. and 217 For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called χάνον, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was inuented by the Cares, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it καρικοὺς ὄχανον: and ſo were likewiſe the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and *Strabo l. 14.* moſt of the reſt. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they uſed to put a Shield and a Creſt into the grave along with him. The *Armes* (τὰ σημεῖα or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Ulyſſes* had his λαφιπόσημον; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Rouſticeck* the *avant coureur* to the *Sun*. but the *Heroes* anciently, as * *Ariſtoph. in Ran.* for the moſt part, uſed to beare Eagles, ἀετοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς γυμνικὰς χαλκωλάτας. to the Armes, they added *verſes* in commendation of the proweſſe of the Perſon, by which he deſerv'd thoſe Armes, and the name of the maker; ſuch as *Pauſanias* *In Eliac.* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *caſe* or *Theca* wherein the ſhield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *caſes*, according to that in *Eur. v. 617.* * *Andromache*.

Κάλλιστα τεύχη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι.

Rhodiginus ſaies, that in the uſe of the ſhield, there were ſome *L.21.c.14.* things which they obſerv'd to be *ominous*: for as if it happened

pend to ſtrike their knees, they counted it lucky, but if they ſtruck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill ſigne. The moſt famous ſhield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Iupiter Aegiochus*, named Αἰγὶς becauſe he cover'd it with the skin of his nurſe the goat called *Amalthæa*. this ſhield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingrav'd upon it the *Stone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Scutum ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their ſhields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the faſhion was alſo for the other ſort of armes) they ſufferd not to have their πόρπακες *handles*, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenance) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſſe ready for uſe; which was the cauſe why he in the Poet cryd out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe.

Ὅι μοι πύλας ἔχυσι γὰ πόρπακας.

For ſaies another a little before.

Οὐ γὰ ὀχρὸν, ὅπερ φιλεῖς ἀ δῆμοτὰ σεσηρέναι
Ταύτας ἐαῦ αὐτοῖσι τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀναπεδῆσαι.

The *Coats of Maile* were of three ſorts, the firſt ζῶμα, which reached from the Navell to the knees: the ſecond Ἡμιθωράκιον, which cover'd halfe the breſt, ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have bin much us'd by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third θώραξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navell, ſo called ἀπὸ τῦ θώειν ὠρᾶν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, and the breſt: from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes* in *Acharnenſibus*, borrowes the word θωρήξασθαι, for to ſignify to be well nigh drunke, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well arm'd againſt the cold) and ἀκρατοθώρακες, to ſignify ἀκρατοπότας *drunk to the toppe*. now a *Thorax* was either σπαῖος, *all of one piece*, or *plaine* like σπαῖος χιτὼν *recta tunica*: or elſe ἀλυσιδωτὸς, with *chaines* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coates of Maile) the *leather* I ſay, becauſe it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ σκῦτος

Etymol.

σκῦτος) as the *Scuta* were,

----- τῶ ȝ δόρατα, σκύτη.

Aristoph. in Pace.

So they say that the Latin word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dry'd and tann'd hide whereof it was made, according to that of *Virgil.*

Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori aperit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls σκαλμὰς, by a Metaphore from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

The *Colour* most in use upon their Armes, Clothes, or Crests, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being us'd to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From this *Phœnicean* colour, the *Lacedemonians* call'd their Coate (or Crest, or what is it?) φοινικίδα, in allusion to whose *red bloudy* colour, the Poet in *Achamenses* speaking of having a fellow beaten till the bloud came, thus expresses it.

Aristoph. in Pace.

Μὴ 'γὼ καταξάνῃ τ' ἀδέρα τοῦτον φοινικίδα.

Let's card him, and worke him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skinne like a φοινικὶς.

Idem. Ibid.

To carry their *Provision* in, every man had his γύλιον, or ὑ-φοδέσμῳ σφαιρωτῷ a kind of *basket*, (*fiscinam*) made of Oziers, (πώγωνα) with a long narrow neck, & therefore the Poet having us'd the word γύλιον, to signify such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word γυλιοσχίνης, to signify *men that had a neck as long as that thing.* Their ordinary provision was Cheese, and Olives, and Onions: the quantity commonly so much as would serve for three daies, according to that of the same Poet still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐπιρρεῖν τὰ ἐπὶ ἡμέρᾳ τρισῖν.

Those too often repeated *orders for three daies provision.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes* or the *Weapons* they uſed to fight with, were in ancient time clubbs (uſed alſo for the putting of Malefactors to death) called by *Homer φάλαγγες, according to that of *Horace*, * Il. 4.

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fuſtibus atq; ita porro
Pugnabant armis quæ poſt fabricaverat uſus.

But afterward they came to Spears, a weapon ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome would not ſtick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Euſtathius*. ὃν ἀγρεῦ. μετὰ πόλεις οἱ ὀρθὸν ἀκόντιον διὸν τοῦτο σεβόμενοι ἀειδμεῖν, where ἀειδμεῖν, ſome ſay ſignifies to worſhip (and ſo they ſay of the word *numerare*, uſed by *Cicero* in his booke *De Nat. Deorum*. *Novi ego Epicureos omnia ſigilla numerantes*) thus it is reported of one *Pheræus Alexander* a tyrant, that having kil'd his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crown'd it with Garlands, and caus'd it to be ador'd by the name of πάζων: one would have thought it ſufficiently honour'd, to be uſed by Kings inſteed of Scepters, as *Juſtin* ſaith it was, or at moſt to *have a place* in the Temple, or elſe to have been *dedicated* to a god, as *Plutarch* ſaith it was to *Pallas*, (becauſe of πάλλω, the proper word for ἀκόντιον) and to be joyned to the ſtatue of the god, for ſo it commonly was among the Latines eſpecially; whence it came that *haſtæ motæ*, ſhaking of the Speares, ſo often ſpoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted ſuch a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the reſpect they gave to them will ſufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. for when they ſlept in the field, they faſtned it ἐν σαυρωτῆρι. which *Pollux* interprets, the *butt-end* of the Speare, made (it may be) with a *croſſe* for the better hold-faſt (*quaſi*) σαυροτῆρι from σαυρὸν. but *Euſtathi-* Il. 1.

us ſaith it was an Iron with a ſharp taile like a ſnake, to be ſet in the ground, and a hollow head, to ſet the Speare in, from σαῦρος *Lacerta* a *Lizard*, which it reſembled. when they came home, they ſett it in a long wooden *caſe*, made of purpoſe by a pillar of the houſe.

Odyſſ. 1. Ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε θύρῃ πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν
δουρὸς Ἀκαιϊκοῦ εὐπαλὲς εὖ ἐϊξόν -----

ſaies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Æn 12. *Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columnæ*
Ædibus aſtabat, validam vi corripit haſtam.

The cuſtome firſt πάλλειν to *vibrate* the Speare before they us'd it, to try the ſtrength of it, was ſo conſtantly kept, that ἐγχέσπαλος, a *ſhake-ſpeare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to ſignify a *Souldier*. *When* the Greeks began the uſe of Bowes, I know not: but it ſeems they had ſuch things, and *Heſychius* in the word ἰπνεία, ſaies they made the *ſtrings* of *Horſes haire*. Swords likewiſe they had, which they us'd to hang by their ſides, διὰ παλαμώνων by *belts*, or ſtrings of leather, as they did the ſhields, and the ſtrings came over the ſhoulders as ours doe.

* χ. on Il. γ.

Heſiod. Ὡμοιοῖ δὲ μὲν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἆορ ἔχεπο.

What other offenſive armes they had I know not, but the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled moſt in the *defenſive*, and that the Barbarians were better at the offenſive then they.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, conſulendi deos, obſervandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warrelike affaires, I cannot find but that they did *propere ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, beare a greater affection to *Peace*: as may appear in

their honourable receiving of Embaſſadors, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worſe place then a *Temple*, * and their entertainment in the *Prytaneum*. The uſuall Enſigne carried by Greek Embaſſadors, was κηρύκιον *caduceus* a *right ſtaffe* of wood with ſnakes twiſted about it, and looking one another in the face. whither was this to affright them from diſcord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth*? (a ſeed of diſſention ſometime ſown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) 'tis but τοξάζειν my *conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *ſoon ſhot* to hit the marke. An Embaſſadors allowance, was two δεῖγμαι a day, which they uſually called τὸ πορεῖον. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they muſt needs have warre, yet they would be ſure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamation of their intentions before they marchr. the manner in proclaiming Warre, was to ſend a fellow of purpoſe, either to caſt a Speare, or to let looſe a Lamb into the borders of the Countrey, or into the City it ſelfe, whether they were Marching (which *Heychius* rather thinks to have been the *ſignall* before a Battle) thereby ſhewing them μηλόσοπα αὖθις τὴν οἰκίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν, what was then a habitation for *men*, ſhould be ſhortly a paſture for *ſheep*, and what was then paſture for their *own* ſheep, ſhould be ſhortly turn'd to the uſe of their *enimies*. Before they ſet forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation, conſidering and examining whether it were convenient or not. the Gods muſt be Sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners ſought to, & all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City ſearcht into: for this courſe the * Tragedian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the comming of *Eurißheus*. Then beſides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewiſh, Latine, and Perſian

* *Demoſth.* π. παραπρεσβ.

* *Etym.*

χ. *Homer in Batra chom.*

Diogenian.

* Πόλις τ' ἐν δηλοῖς σφὰς δ' ἔπειμασμένα.

ἴσκειν, ὅτις χρὴ ταῦτα τίμιγεθαι θεῶν. δυσπολεῖ δ' ἄρα μάντιν ὑπὸ Τρωπαῖα τ' ἐκθρῶν καὶ πόλιν σωτηρία. χρεμῶν γὰρ ἀοιδοὺς πάντας εἰς ἓν ἀλίους Ἥλεγξα καὶ βάσιλα καὶ κακξυμμένα, Λύκια παλαιὰ τῆς γῆ σωτῆρα.

sian, they used to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and consecrated to the gods in case they prevail'd, such as was that of the Tith of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vowes of the like price. nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. for as the *Lacedemonians* thought it not good to march ἐντὸς πανσελήνης, till the *fulll* of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης, till the *seaventh* day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In Marching the Generall used alwaies ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δέξιον, to *keep himselfe on the right horne or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ὁπλόται) kept themselves ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις, *in those parts*, or those *Corpora* (as the Romans call'd them) which were lesse in danger. such kind of service was from thence called τρεπτία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and sometimes πρωρεῖα. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια. no passing without a prayer ----πρὶν γ' εὔξῃ ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥέεθρα. the Romans alwaies observed the like custome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremne auspicari*.

χ. Aristoph. in Eq.
Herodot.
Suidas.
Hesiod. l. 2.
Festus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi prælium, & de usu Tubarum.

χ. in *Eurip. Phæn.*

WHen they fought a Battle, after they had kill'd a *victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the Torches, for σπεῦδεσι ἀντὶ σαλπιγκτῶν, instead of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellowes whom they called σπεύδειν, that went before with Torches, and throwing them down in

in the midſt between the two Armies, gave the ſigne.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo *Statius Th. 4.*
Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Lycophron in his ἐχθρᾶς ϑ πυρσὸν, and *Pindar* in his ὕμνων πυρσὸν, ſeem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. now this buſineſſe they might doe ſafely, and without any danger, ἀνεχόρυν ἀκίνδυνος. for the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted *ſacred*. * ἱερὰ τὰ δαᾶ, inſomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, * ἐκ ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη. Thoſe *Torches Euripides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπάδας, where he ſaies that the *Achivi avoided* them, that is, refuſed to fight.

* χ. *in Eurip. Phæn.*

ἐσώζοντο ϑ τ ὅι πυρφόροι εἰ χ πάντες ἀπώλοντο.

---- πυρὸς λαμπάδας ἐξέβης πλεύων
Φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.
Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos. (better im my mind then *Qui audiens ignis faces accenſas adduſtus eſt, ut credat Fugere &c.*)

Nay not only when they would ſignify their intentions to *fight* with the enimy *to the enimy himſelfe*, but alſo when they would ſignify his approach to *others* to have their aſſiſtance, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called φρυκτοὶ, for tis rendred *faces*, you may render it *Brands* or *Beacons* if you will, for they were made of dry wood or ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. and they had men ſtill who did φρυκλωρεῖν *keep* φρυκλωρίας, *Watches* in the * Towers or forts, as we doe at the Beacons. if the enemy came in the night, they fir'd the Brands, if he came by day, they rais'd a ſmoake. but I muſt tell you, there were φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ, Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their *friends* too, as well as πολέμιοι, but with this diſtinction, that φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill, but the πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro.

χ. in Homer. Il. σ.

* Καὶ φρυκλωρίας ἐν τοῖς πύργοις. *Ariſtoph. in Avib.*

But thoſe Torches *laſted* not alwaies, for afterward they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of *Æſchylus*. Σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πᾶσ' ἐκεῖν ἐπίφλεγεν.

In Perſis.

In-

In- or *ac cendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphore from the fire of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceiv'd to have been firſt brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an aſſiſtant to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place. πρῶτος δ' Ἀρχίδας συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἤγαγε τὴν τυρσηνικὴν σάλπιγγα εἰς Ἕλληνας, and therefore he calls the Trumpet, τυρσηνικὴν, *viz.* from the inventers; as the Poet himſelfe had done before, both in his *Phœniſſæ*, and his *Heraclidæ*, where he ſaies it was us'd when they joyned Battle, and that then it ſounded * ὄρθιον a *long blaſt*, like that in the book of [a] *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before) There was a time when Shields did ſerve for Trumpets, *conchæ ſonantes*, and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*.

In Phœn.

* Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήμηνε ὄρθιον τυρσηνικῇ Σάλπιγγι, ᾗ σωῦφαν ἀλλήλοις μάχῃ. *v.* 830.

[a] *C.* 6. 5.

Ἤδη γὰρ κεκλῆκε θαλάσσιος οἰκόθε νεκρὸς
Τεθνηκὼς ζωῷ φθεγγόμενος σόματι.

CAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis & præmiis & Sepultura.

IF it went well with the Army in the Fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the newes was a loru'd with * Garlands. in the mean time thoſe that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, us'd to ſacrifice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ εἴη, ὑπεδύσαν ταύτας, εἰ δ' τυγχάνοι, ὑπετρέψαν, *if it were good to bring it along the way to them, if not to be there in the way and ſtop it.* For cloſe conveying of intelligence I ſuppoſe they had ſeverall waies. whether they made uſe of the *Lacedemonian* σκυτάλη I know not: if you pleaſe you may read the deſcription thereof in *A. Gellius* at full, or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*, where he ſaies, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκεις of *a length*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carried by the Generall

* Ἐπεὶ καταστεφῆ στείχονθ' ὁρῶ &c. *Soph. in Trach.*

χ. *In Ariſtoph. Eq.*

L. 17. κ. 9.

nerall along with him. when they meant to ſend him any private meſſage, they took a piece of a σκύτος a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, ſo as it could not be underſtood, unleſſe it were rolled up upon one of thoſe ſtaves, and the Parchment and the ſtaffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it ſeems by the Poet, whether he ſpake in ieſt or in earneſt I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians among a great many other things out of a *Laconomany* as he termes it, or a humour, like that of the Engliſh towards the French.

Ἐλαχωνομάνην πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε
Σκυτάλι ἐφόρουν.

If any one turn'd αὐτομόλος *transfuga*, or betray'd the place committed to him, he ſuffered death. if he had been ἀφάντατος, and *would* not, or ἄλλως and *could* not fight for feare, or if λελοιπὼς τὴν τάξιν, or βλάψας, he had *left* his *rank* or *thrown downe* his *Armes*, he was regiſtred, and delivered to the *Heliaſtæ* to be puniſhed as they pleas'd, and not to come to the Temples, till he had ſatisfied juſtice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward, * *Vid. ſupr.* Æſchines *contra Cteſiph.* Eurip. *Heracl. v. 966*

Οὐχ ὃν τιν' αὖ γε ζῶντ' ἄλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maim'd, were to be allowed two ὀβολοὶ ſaies *Heſychius*, (but *one* ſaies *Harpocration*) every day out of the publique Treaſure: but firſt they were to be examin'd by the Parliament of *five Hundred*, whether they were ἀδύνατοι: now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐντὸς τεττάρων μνῶν κεκτημένοι, ſaies *Harpocration*, thoſe whoſe eſtates came not to ſo much as three *minæ*. Such as were *ſlaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publique Treaſure, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had a πανοπλίαν, a *Suit of Armes* beſtowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκουσαν τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐπιτηδεύματα, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them from degenerating. they had the honour alſo προεδρίας, of having the formoſt ſeat at *ſhews*. If they buried the party ſlain in the ſame place (as they did all at * *Marathon*-fight) the faſhion *Vid. ſupr.* *Plato.*

ſhion was then to make a ſhield his *Beere*, as 'twas before to make it his *Cradle*, according to thoſe words of the Lacedomian *virago* to her Sonne, as ſhe was helping on his ſhield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶν, either thou bring *the ſhield home againe*, *or let the ſhield bring* * *thee*; nay and to make it his Coffin too, ſometimes, as it ſeems by that ſaying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Aſtyanax*.

* *Arma ſuperveheris quid, Thraſibule, tua Auſon. Epig. 24.*

Ἀλλ' ἀγὲ πόδρυ, περιβόλωντε λαΐνων
Ἔν τᾷ ϑ' ὑψηλᾷ πατὴρ.

At the buriall the reſt of his company, Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, ſhaking their Armes, and throwing their ſwords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. but for the moſt part, they were allowed a publike buriall upon the common charge at home in the *Ceramicus* all together, and then three daies before the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall day, every Tribe brought a coffin of Cypreſſe wood, and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground, with ſeverall pillars and inſcriptions, and one ſolemne Speech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or elſe plac'd in the ἄσυ, and honour'd with the name of *Cecropidæ*, *Citizens of the true old blood*, according to that

Thucyd l. 3.

Eurip. in Phæn.

Οὐ καλλιπλοκάμου Κεκροπίδας ὄβριμ' ἐγώ.

Sometimes ſuch as had the *firſt fruits* (or the *prime*) of the ſpoyles, were adorn'd with a golden στέφανος.

Ibid.

Καὶ ϑ' ἡ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ὡς ἱερᾶς ἔχει
Λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Trophæis.

FOR *memorialls* of the victory, ἀνίστανο τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies* (you may write it τροπαῖα, if you had rather follow the moſt * auncient, then that which is neweſt in faſhion) Trophies were uſually *pillars* of braſſe, or ſtone, or wood. and the wood ſometimes *olive* (τὰ τρόπαια ἐν τούτῳ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀνέθεσαν, ſaies * *Dionyſius*) and ſometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

---- *Quercuſq; tropheis Curva tremens* ----

Thoſe Pillars among *them* anſwered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latins: only *that* might be overthrown, whereas *theſe* might neither be taken away, nor reſtored againe if conſumed with age or the like, ὅτι αὐτοὺ ἀναλαμβάνειν καινοποιῶν δόξοντος ὅτι καὶ * φιλαπέχθημον, leaſt they *ſhould* thereby rub up the old ſore and revive the grudge; and therfore ſaies the ſame author, οὐδὲ παρ' Ἕλλησιν οἱ χαλκᾶν σύμπαντες τρόπαιον ἀνθέντες, *thoſe that made them Trophies of braſſe, were looke upon as contentious men, and haters of Amneſty.* Now upon the Trophee, they engrav'd an ἐπιγραφὴ, declaring the cauſe of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory, ſuch a one as *Orthryades* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like *inſcriptions* many times were written upon other things. for *Pauſanias* having conquer'd *Mardonius* at *Platææ*, did not only at *Byzantium* write it upon the *Cup* which he conſecrated to the gods of the place; (as *Athenæus* reports to his diſpraiſe for his arrogance) but alſo upon a *tripus* beſides, which he caus'd to be made of Gold, and ſent to *Delphos*, with this inſcription,

Ἕλλήνων ἀρχαγὸς ἐπεὶ φρασὶν ὦλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being diſpleas'd, blotted it cleane out, and inſteed thereof, engrav'd the names only of

* Οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ θεὸν πόντον ὠνόμαζον καὶ νεώτεροι περιεξυτονοῦσι. *Ex. in Ariſtoph. Plut.*

* *Plutarch. in Roman.*

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucyd. l. 1.

* Ἀλλὰν πρῶτα χῶρ-τες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι Ἔκθηκαν

those Cities by whose help they obtain'd the victory, and so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called * Ποικίλη.

† *In Pison.*

In † *Ciceros* time (it seems) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off, and therefore he saies that the *Thebans* were accus'd for erecting a Trophee over the Lacedemonians, but instead of them, they erected sometimes Altars (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*) and sometimes Images to *Iupiter* Τροπαῖος (so called from causing the enimy τρέπεσθαι τὸ turne their *backs* as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to *stand* to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and ἰόλαος (as I told you before of κρατὸς) *good or valiant Iolaus* erected.

Eurip. in Heracl. v. 937.

----- βρότας Διὸς Τροπαίου κρατίστους ἔσεσθαι.

The *Spoyles* which they took (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀκροθίνια, *quasi* ἀκροχύνια, saies *Eustathius*, as if it were ἄνωθεν τῆς ὑγρᾶς ἐν μάχῃ πολλῆς: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack, only that then there is a new Etymology, *viz.* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ *à littore* ἀπορχὰς ἀναπομπίμους ἐξ ἠιόνος δηλ. τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ σωθῆναι, because the things were saved from being cast *on shore*. but I rather incline to the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles Trachiniæ*, who saies those ἀπαρχαὶ, or the *first fruits of the spoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, because they used to lay the spoyles which they had taken together on a heape, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ σωροῦ, they skimm'd away the *Creame* as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. in allusion whereto *Megara* in *Euripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her Sonnes out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus.

In Odyss. 4.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἀκμὰς ἀκροθινιάζομαι.

The Armes which they took, ἀνέθεντο they *hung up* in their Tem-

Temples, (or elſe in their own [a] houſe) as they did their owne when they left the ſervice, as *Horace* ſaies

---- *Veianius armis*
Herculis ad poſtem fixis latet abditus agro.

Some of the ſpoyles they hung upon the Trophees, but wrote [b] them all. for that was the cuſtome, τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς ξυμπολεμίοις ἐγγεγράφθαι ſaies the [c] *Scholiaſt.*

[a] Νέοι ἀναδήματα οἰκιῶν Ἀσπίδας ἢ πήληκας ἐπικρεμάσαντο τοῦ μηλάδος. *L. 1. Epiſt. 1.*

[b] Τρόπαι' ἱδρύσῃ πανοπλίαν ἔχοντα πολεμίων ---- *Eurip. Heracl. v. 786.*

[c] *In Phœniſ. Eur.*

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motem furentem, & somniantem.

THERE were not many things in uſe among the Jewes the people of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, doe not ſeem to have imitated; and ſo *vice verſa*. ſuch as the Prophets were among them, ſuch were the *Magi* among the Perſians, the *Chaldæi* among the Aſſyrians, *Gymnoſophiſts* among the Indians, the *Galleotæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetruſci* among the Italians. Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of *Divination* leſſe then the *uſe*, for if we may believe * *Strabo*, Οἱ τὰ μάντεις ἐνιῶντο ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings.* to a Perſian King it was *neceſſary*, to any other *convenient*. *Amphilochus*, and *Mopſus*

* *L.* 16.

ſus Kings of the *Argivi*, were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sibyll.* but to a *Phyſitian* it was reckon'd ſo neceſſary, that *Æſchylus* has uſed ἰατρὸς a *Phyſitian*, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other which made *Achilles* in time of ehe Peſtilence, to ſeek to μαντικὴ for a cure. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* ſpeaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Profeſſions. credit it had amongſt the beſt Philoſophers (eſpecially that of Dreams, and *Enthyſiaſmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Ariſtotle* and the Peripateticks. *Pythagoras* indeed was againſt *extiſpicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* againſt that and all the reſt.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men* called Μαντεία, or from the *Gods* properly called χρησμὸς an *Oracle*; according to that of the [a] Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* χρησμὸς μὲν ὁ ἀπὸ θεῶν, μαντεία δὲ ἀνθρώπων. indeed μαντεία ſeems to be the *genus*, and χρησμὸς the *ſpecies*. the ſame Propheſy which when it was ſpoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was deliver'd by * men was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari neq; me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet*: whereas in the *other* it could be but *præſagire* at the wiſeſt. The faculty in the firſt ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now call it * ἀπιστοτάτως τὸ τ ἐμ- Καλύπτειν) or ἡ μανικὴ as *Plato* call'd it (for (as *Tireſias* ſaid) ἐξ τὸ μαντικὸς μανικὸν πολλὰ ἔχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and by *Cicero*, into firſt τεχνικὴν *artificioſam*, that which is acquir'd by obſervation and experience, *obſervatis longo tempore ſignificationibus &c.* and 2ly Ἄτεχνον or ἀδίδακτον *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. Theſe two *ſpecies* are ſaid to be ὁ θησεὺς δίδυμος μαντοσύνας, the *twins*, or the double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeath'd to *Jamus* his ſonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infuſed faculty of Divination, moſt properly called μαντικὴ proceeded firſt *à motu furente*, from a *phrantick motion*, which though they took it for a help to Prophecy, yet it ſeems rather to have been

[a] *In Oed. Tyr.*

* *Ennius.*

* *Plato.*

Eurip. in Bac. v. 299.

been a puniſhment ſent from God, who in the Propheſy of *Iſaiah* c. 44. v. 25. ſaid he would *make their Diviners mad.* And *Cicero* himſelfe ſaies 'tis very ſtrange, *ut qui humanos ſenſus amiſerit divinos aſſecutus ſit*, *that he that hath loſt his own ſence, ſhould be able to know the ſence of the gods.* hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick ſpeeches of dying men, ſuch as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of ſixe men that were of the ſame age, which ſhould be firſt, and which next, and ſo along. Or elſe it proceeded *à motu ſomnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion, and then they call'd it ὀνειροπλῆκτα, which becauſe it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a ſtone *tumbling downe the hill.*

The firſt kind coming by *Enthuſiaſme* or Inſpiration, was either of leſſe authority, ſuch as *Caſſandra* had, or *Polybius* Propheſying his Sounes death as he went to *Troy.* or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny; or elſe of greater ſo as to command a beliefe, ſuch as the Sibyll women had, or the *Pythia wench*, who deliver'd the Oracles; which was nothing but a cuning trick *à vafris quibuſdam & quæſtuariis inchoatum*, vented for gaine. The difference between thoſe two Prophets conſiſted in this that * *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturæ Sibyllam, Pythia had it inſpir'd, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature.* Now, becauſe the number of Oracles, and the ſuperſtition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* then in any other part of the world, It may not be amiſſe to ſpeak ſomewhat of the moſt noted of them, *viz. Pythium, Dodoneum*, and *Iupiter Hammons.*

* *Cic. l. 1, de Divin.*

CAP. 1.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE moſt noted of the three Oracles was the firſt: it was called *Pythium*, for the ſame reaſon that the Woman

man was called *Pythia*, *i.e.* Either from *Python* the ſerpent that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came afterward kill'd by *Apollo*, who poſſeſſed the place by conqueſt. or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this oracle, which came from *Pythis* the ſonne of *Delphus*, the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to diſtribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to diſtribute nouriſhment to the body of a child. and therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον μαντεῖον, becauſe it was ὄμφαλος the *Navill*, or *Umbelicus* the midſt of *Greece*, (ſaies *Strabo*) and not of the *Werld*, as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio poſiti*. and this they came to know forſooth, by the two *Eagles* (ſaies *Pindar*) *Crowes* ſaies ſome, and others *Swans*, which being let fly by *Iupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in alluſion to the name of Ὄμφαλος (by which it was commonly call'd) *Pauſanias* ſaies there was to be ſeen in the Temple a Navill made of white ſtone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill-ſtring. but *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀμφὴ the Oracle. and *Varro* would by no means yeeld to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neq; locus is ſit terrarum medius neq; umbelicus ſit in homine medius*. but the latter reaſon is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one elſe. The firſt beginner of the Oracle (ſame ſay) was *Tellus* πρόπολος γαῖα, and ſome *Themis*.

Ἠπρώτη καὶ δεύτερ᾽ ἔχρησε βοσκὸς μαντεῖον ἀγνόν.

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. when the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there comming to a den very large below, with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a ſuddain fell a leaping and making a ſtrange noyſe. he that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the ſame frollick, but prophecy'd too, and thus it far'd with divers others that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. nay a grat many with the *breath* (ἀδμὰ δαιμόνιον, or *anhelitus terræ*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the *Earth expired*. inſomuch that afterward they ſet a *Three-*

Diodor. l. 6.

footed ſtoole upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common *name* was *Pythia*, and her *office* to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out; for (ſaies *Plutarch*) the words are hers, only *Apollo*, Τὰς φαντασίας παρέσχεν, ἡ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ſate in under blowing with the bellowes to let her a *peeping*, or a *whiſpering* like thoſe מְצַפְצְפִים in *Iſaiah* c. 8. v. 19. where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστριμύθους, or *belly*-Prophets that *peepe* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divell ſpake his Prophecyes with a ſmall peeping voyce like a childs. but in another place he comes neerer to us, ſaying, *thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voyce ſhall be as of one that hath a familiar ſpirit out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpeake, was a pot fill'd with *duſt*, throw which the *afflatus* the wicked *inſpiration*, was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo goe forth at her mouth for an Oracle; and therefore it is that thoſe Prophets which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and στερνομάντεις, as well as πύθωνες, and * ἐνυχλεῖς the manner of her ſitting &c. when ſhe took the *ſpirit* in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the * Scholiaſt, Ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἡ διαῤῥῶξαι σκληπτὸν εἰσῆλθεν πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς γαστρικῶν ἐδέχετο μοιρῶν, ἡ τὰς πέτρας λύσασα, ἡ ἀέριον ἐκ τοῦ σώματος πήσασα ἡ μαίνασα τὰς μαντείας, ἃ μᾶλλον μανίας ἐφθέγγετο. She was no ſooner inſpir'd, but ſhe fell a tearing her haire, and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting he fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures, *Sectis namq; humeris & utraq; manu diſtrictos gladios exerentes currunt, efferantur, inſaniunt.* but this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maids name that Prophſyed in that place was *Phænomoe*. all the reſt were young Virgins, as ſhe wa-

* As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed chriſtian in the Towne of *Barwick*.

* *C.* 29. *v.* 4.

Plutarch. de Orac. defec.

* And *Enricide* from *Euryoles* a Prophet of that name.

* *In Ariſtoph. in Avib.*

L. 1. *c.* 21.

was till *Echecrates* a Theſſalian deflowred *Phœbas*; and then they made choyce of Women of fifty years of age, but made them goe in the habit of a Virgin. The * cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtoole* to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their haire in the fountaine *Caſtalius* (where the Poets a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too, were uſed to waſh)

* *Sch. on Euripi. Phœn.*

---- *κόμας ἁμὰς λύσας* ---- wheu they ſate firſt on the ſtoole, they uſed to ſhake * the Laurell-tree that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies *μαντεύεται δάφνην*, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to doe, and therfore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra λαυρὸν δαφνηφάγον*.

* *Sch. on Ariſtoph.*

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them was *Parnaſſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſſus* from *Λάρναξ Deucalions Arke* that reſted there. *fides penes autorem.* As for *Tripus* (called by the Latins *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover* --- *tripodes Cortina tegit*)

It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Luſiſtrate* to have been *φιάλη* a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filld with *ψῆφοι*, or *calculi*, *cuts*, or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the Pot, (*ἥλοντο*) or leapt and danc'd in it when any one came to aske, according to the ſignification they bare made up the anſwer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three leggs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called *ὁλμὸς*, (as the table bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called *ὄρολμος*, and his Wench *ὀρολμὶς*.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *looſe themſelves*, as to goe to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to *ſeek* then they were before. but that they were re-

ſolved to be fool'd, becauſe forſooth *Apollo* is λοξὸς crooked there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he muſt πλαγιάζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. Tis his uſe

Senec. Oed. Act. 2. Sc. 2. *Ambage nexa delphico Mos eſt deo*
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, ὅτι παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν ἔρρων ἐν αἰνίγμασι γράφασι, in ancient time they made their verſes in riddles: now the Oracles, were delivered commonly in verſe, as he ſaies

--- dictæ per carmina Sortes. for *Sortes* they uſually calld them, and the Verſe for the moſt part was *Hexameter*, inſomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἀνδρῶν δ' πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, becauſe it was not heroick enough to become the author. * *Plutarch* ſaies ſome were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpoſe in the Oracle place. μίτρα καὶ ῥυθμὸς ὅτον ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρησμοῖς περιπλέκοντες, *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verſe.* but one reaſon why they deliver'd their Oracles in verſe, or in briefe, and ſo commonly in obſcurity, was becauſe the god ἀφανίζειν ἐν ᾧ δίλει τὸ ἀληθὲς, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet deſirous to make it known, was faine to have it deliver'd in ſuch manner as nobody might take advantage to hurt the ſpeaker, if that anſwer were not according to his mind. Tis true in later times it *fell* to proſe (when it began to fall in the price) and the reaſon thereof has been ſufficiently diſputed alredy by *Plutarch* in a treatiſe of purpoſe.

* De Pythiæ Oracul.

The eſteeme which they had of thoſe Oracles was ſuch, that in times of Warre when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perſwade the Souldiers to fight. for they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral-gazer* himſelfe, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*, that

Polyæn. l. 2. c. 7.

that *men were ſo apt to ſpeak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for feare, or for favour, that there was little or no credit to be given to any other Propheſy beſides Apollows own.*

---- φοῖβον αἰδρώπους μόνον
Χρὴ θεσπιδεῖν, ὃς δίδυκεν ἢ λέγει.

And yet it is cleer that the Woman or ſome body elſe was naught and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuiſſet, neq; tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atq; regum niſi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem eſſet experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit* but indeed, *ſhe has not been thus a long time*. nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time, *Demoſthenes* could complain ſhe did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and ſpeake as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time ſhe was brided by *Clyſthenes*, to perſwade the Lacedemonians to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyranny*; and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perſwade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Κερδῶον θεὸν for nothing. *Plutarch. de Herodot.*

But you will ſay ſome other body might play the knave and put it upon her. and likely enough. for ſo *Cicero* thinks they did in that anſwer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe*. and that, First becauſe *Apollo* did not ſpeak in *Latine*. 2ly Becauſe none of the Greek writers mention any ſuch thing. and 3ly Becauſe the Oracles were not given in verſe in *Pyrrhus* his time. *L. 2. de Divin.*

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi ceſſatione.

ALL this while I have ſaid nothing of the Temple, for feare of ſaying too little. ſo famous and ſo rich as it was with the guifts or ἀναθήματα, of moſt of the Princes or People in the world; inſomuch that *Aphetoriæ opes* (ſo ſaid

from Ἀφήτωρ (the name of *Apollo* who was *emiſſor Oraculorum*) hath been uſed as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the ſame place at ſeverall times. the firſt was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Tempe fiels*. the 2d of *Wax and Feathers*: or elſe faigned to be made ἐκ πτερῶν of wings, becauſe the mans name was *Pteras* that built it. the 3d of Braſſe (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minervæ χαλκίοικος*) this ſome ſay was molten to ground, others that it was ſwallowed up by an Earth-quake. the 4th of ſtone deſtroyd by fire the firſt yeare of the fifth *Olympiad*. the 5th built by the *Amphyctions* out of the holy treaſure in a very ſteep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be ſaid concerning the Temple, and the E. I. in the frontiſpiece, the reaſon whereof is diſputed by * *Plutarch*; but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Cuſtomes which the Athenians (the devouteſt ſervants of *Apollo*) uſed in ſending to him either to *Delphos* or to *Delos* to doe him honour, or to aske his advice. The occaſion of ſending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing ſome arduous affaire, or for delivery from ſickneſſe, or the like. when they went thither, they were ſaid ἀναβαίνειν, when they return'd againe καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies uſed in ſending Embaſſes *extraordinary* to Delphos, were neer the ſame with thoſe that were *ordinarily* uſed in the *Delia-feaſt* once a yeare, and they were theſe. Thoſe that were ſent were called ſometimes Θεωροὶ, from the feaſt, ſometimes Θεοπρόποι (like Hebrew *ſeers*) a name ſuitable to that of *Apollo* Λοξίας in *Pindar* (*Pyth.* 3.) which ſome notwithſtanding interpret to be his Index, or his *angell* the *Crow*. he that had the ordering of the buſineſſe was called Ἀρχιθέωρος, ſuch a one as *Andorides* ſaid he himſelfe had been. There were alſo ſent along with them Κήρυκες Μυστικοὶ, two that were to be Ἐξηγηταὶ, or *Epulones* at *Delos* for that yeare. The ſhip in which they went, was firſt to be adorn'd with Garlands by the Prieſt of *Apollo*, and ſo were the meſſengers too on the head,

Pauſan. in Phoc.

* περὶ τῆ E.I. τῆ ἐν Δελφοῖς

* head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ σωμᾶς τὸ τεμαχὺς ψυχᾶς, in allusion to the three parts of the soule. The ship was likewise called θεωρὶς, and sometimes θηλιὰς. It was wont to be *Theseus* his, in which the Boys were brought that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he instituted the Plays, and the solemnity celebrated by the aforesaid *Deliastæ*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ship the *Athenians* kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὥστε καὶ πῶς φιλοσόφοις εἰς τὴν αὐξανομένων λόγον ἀμφιδοξούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι τὴν μὲν αὐτὸ αὐτὸ, τὴν δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένειν λεγόντων, Insomuch (saies *Plutarch*) that Philosophers use to illustrate that opinion, that the body remains still the same, notwithstanding continuall decay by this similitude. besides this, there were foure more *naves sacræ*, *viz.* the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were sent for the keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called πομπεῖα: for when they came thither, first they * Sacrificed, and then the Maids sent thither from severall places, fell a Dauncing a strange kind of daunce about the Altar, which the called Γέρανον, *Gruem* the *Crane*, wherein, their motions being crooked like the cranes-neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings & windings of the Minotaurs Labarinth: beating the Altar, and biting at a bush of Olives with their hands behind them (as our boyes doe at *Snop-apple*) if so much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

* Ξανθὰ δ' ἐρεσσάμενοι λάϊνον κεράσσατε μίτωπα. *Apollonius l. 2. Argon.*

Thucyd. l. 5.

* Ἐμπύεσε πομπεύσαντες. *Sepud Pind. Olymp.* H.

Πολὺν μέγαν ποτὶ βωμὸν ἀνὰ πληθὺν ἐλίξαι
Ῥηκτόμενον δρυπτόποις ἀγρὸν ἐλαίης
Χεῖρας ἀποστρέψαντες &c.

Hymn. in Del.

The Altar was Κεράτινος βωμὸς, and therefore called Κεράτων because it was made by *Apollo* at foure years old, of the *hornes* of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* kill'd a hunting upon *Cynthius* hill, the hornes were all of the left side, saith *Plut. in Theseo*, and yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis τὴν δεξίων, whether it should be rendred of the right *side*, or right, that is, fit or handsome I know not. but so strangely were

were theſe hornes joyned together without any Cement, Glue, or tye, that it was reckon'd for one of the *ſeven ſtrange ſights* Ἐν τοῖς ἔστα καλκμένοις διάμαν as *Ovid* ſaies,

Miror & innumeram ſtructam de cornibus aram.

During all theſe holy daies no malefactor was to ſuffer puniſhment, by which means * *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty daies, ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπῇ, ſaith *Xenophon*. when the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeyſance as they paſſed by, which made him complaine ſo in *Euripides*.

* *Plato in Phædone.*

*Anab. l. 4.

In Hippol.

Οὐ χθὲ τις μ' ὡς θεωρὸν ἀξιοῖ δόμοις
Πύλας ἀνοίξας ἐμφανῆ προσεννέπειν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to ceaſe is uncertaine, ſome ſay *Alexander* put it downe, but it appears to have flouriſh'd after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceaſed as ſoon as men had wit enough to adviſe themſelves, without ſeeking to him that made his buſineſſe to couzen them. *Dion* ſaies it was when *Nero* murthered the men at the hole. when it left Delphas it went to the [a] *Hyperborean Scythians*, for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Prieſts, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The Athenians when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vows and prayers in the name of the reſt. and it was their faſhion to ſend guifts and offerings thither, as they had done to Delphos. but what need we dout of the time or the cauſe, ſince we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* aerts.

[a] *Pulcher Apollo Luſtrat Hyperboreas Delphis ceſſantibus aras. Claudiani.*

---- *Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,*
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt ſortibus antra.
Non Tripodes Cortina tegit, non fumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit inſanas mendax Dodona vaſpares
Nec reſponſa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle-place, (τὸ ἀνάκτορον or χρηστήριον) of *Jupiter Hammon* is thought to have been at firſt a kind of *Schoole* for the family of *Cham* or *Ham*, but afterward abuſed by the Devill to this deluſion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almoſt inacceſſible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *hight*. *Dodonas* Grove is thought to have been ſuch another *Schoole*, *viz.* for the offſpring of *Todanaim* Nephew to *Japhet*. but for this there is a Fable of a paire of Doves, that ſhould come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in Epirus, and there uſing the voyce of a man among other good inſtructions gave order for the building of a Temple in that place: which was done by *Deucalion* after his ſhip came thither (while I ſpeak of theſe things I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) beſides the building of the City *Dodona*, neare unto which this Oracle was. theſe two Oracles are reckond the moſt *ancient* of all, and of theſe two the laſt. τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων. And therefore a word or two more of it then I thought. It is conceived by moſt, that thoſe *Doves* were certain Women-prieſts or Prophets, fetcht from Ægypt (the Mart of ſuperſtition) by the *Phœnicians* firſt, and from them convey'd into *Theſſaly*. now in the *Theſſalian* language, the ſame word which ſignifies a Dove, is uſed alſo to ſignify a Propheteſſe, ἡ πελειάς. *Euſtathius* ſaies, that in the *Theſſalian* Tongue *Old Women* were called πέλειαι, and *old* men πέλοι, and that thoſe Propheteſſes being three old Women, whoſe names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, and *Nicandre*, either by miſtake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly ſuppos'd to be Doves. The ſame author alſo ſaies, that perhaps thoſe Women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would ſcarce allow to be men and women) for the rude brutiſh language might have been counted as ſo many birds. But it ſeems to have been no ſuch ſtrange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the names of Doves. and therefore *Lyco-*

Herodot.

In Il. ξ.

phron calls *Cassandra* by the name of φάσσα *Palumbes*, though in another place she have the name of a more tatling Bird, viz. φοιβόλημ' ὑπὸ χελιδών the Swallow. the Scholiast upon Sophocles (in his *Trachiniæ*) hath another conjecture more besides that which I named last, *viz.* that these Prophetesses had the name of πελειάδες, or rather if you will, the old women therefore had the name of πελειαὶ, because they were πεπολιωμέναι gray hair'd and aged.

Strabo speaks of foure Priests called Ἕλλοι ἀπὸ ἑλῶν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, from the *fennes* neer the Temple, *viz.* of *Jupiter* surnamed *Tonurus*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, saying

----- ἀμφὶ δ' Σελλοὶ
Ναίουσιν δ' ὑποφῆτ' ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

They used not to wash their feet; and lay upon the ground when they slept. when they gave answer, they got them up amidst the boughs, and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from *between* them. they are call'd θεσπίδρυες δρυὲς, and μαντικαὶ δρυὲς, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called * λάλητρον κλάσμα. Round about the Temple stood Basins of Brasse, one just against the other παρηλλήλων χαλκώνων, saith *Eustathius*, of which if you struck but one all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Æs Dodonæum* became a Proverb. because they used to strike these Basons as they used to doe other Basons and Pots, with a ring held by a thred in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessell so many times, to make a Divination by the sounds.

* *Cæto Tonuvi Iovis augure luco Arbore prælagâ tabulas animasse Loquaces.* Claudian.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per Somnium, ſuper Meloti.s in Templis, cum obſervatione diætæ.

PRophecying by a *Dreame*, was either ὀνειροπόλικ, *Somniatoris* of a *Dreamer of Dreames*, or ὀνειροκρίτου *Conjectoris* of an *interpreter* of dreams, ſuch as *Hecuba* ſpake of when ſhe ſaid ὡς μοι κρίναι τὸν ὄνειρον. The latter of theſe ſurely belongs to the *technicall* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other ſort of *Ariolation*: for he that ſhall object, that ſpeaking but *ſometimes* true, does not argue skill, becauſe *ſi ſæpe jactaveris quandoque venerem jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be anſwered with this queſtion, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* beſides if it were no Art, what talke we of *Xenophons* dreams in his ſervice with *Cyrus*? or how came it, that there were ſo many bookes written of this ſubject? for to ſay nothing of [a] eleven more that wrote of purpoſe of it, nor of the Treatiſe περὶ ἐνυπνίων reported by * *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his bookes, *Artemon Mileſius* wrote two and twenty bookes of it himſelfe; and there is a very pretty copy of about foureſcore *Senarii* verſes in Greek, touching the ſignification of ſuch or ſuch ſight in a dreame. but the dreame (you muſt underſtand) was not every ὄναρ, or *vaine* dreame (for ſo does the Etymology import. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἀληθοῦς ἄρσαι, ſaies *Euſtathius*) but ὕπαρ, or ὄνειρος, a *Morning dreame*, freſh and faſting, ſuch as ὕπαρ is, ſaith * *Homer*, which they derive Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπαὶ ἀρσαι, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος, which they derive Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνίνημι ὑπαρ ἐστὶ τὸ ὂν εἰρεῖν, and of ſuch is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn*: Ἄγγελε μαλλόντων ὀνητοῖς χρήσιμα μήδεα. I believe few that read me are ſuch as *Plutarchs Thraſymede*, or *Plinies Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dreame, and therefore I will make bold to detaine them the longer. It is variouſly conjectur'd whoſe

[a] *Hadr. Iun. animad.* * *Lib. 1. Divin.* * *In Pompeio.* * Οὐκ ὄναρ μὴ ὕπαρ ἐστὶ τὸ δῶρον τοι τετελεσμένον. *Hom. Odyſſ.* T.

Lib.7.cap.5. who was the firſt *conjectour* in this kind, * *Pliny* ſaies *Amphiction*, *Deucalions* ſonne; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pompeius*, *Joſeph*; *Pauſanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, whom he reports to have been Deified for his skill; and that they uſed to ſacrifice to him when they looked for a dreame. they talk that the People that lived neer *Boryſthenes*, and the *Gades*, were excellent at this worke; and ſo were thoſe that lived at the * *Hiblæ*, two Citries ſo nam'd in *Sicily*. but amongſt all, the *old doting Women* were beſt at it,

* *Pauſan. Eliac. Propertius lib. 2. El. 4.*

Quæ mihi non decies ſomnia verſat anus.

When they deſired to dreame a Propheticall dreame, ſometimes they would ſacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and ſleep upon the fleece: for thus the *Daunii* uſed to doe in the Temple of * *Calchas*. So likewiſe the *Calabri* uſed their *melotæ* *ſheep-skins*, or fleeces, to ſleep upon at the Sepulcher of *Podalirius*. and it ſeems it was a common practiſe both for dreaming, for *Virgil* alſo ſaies,

* Ἐναζίζειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μήλανα κεῖον ὀι μαντεύομενοι ἐγκοιμώμενοι τῷ δέρματι. *Strabo l. 6.*

--- Cæſarum ovium ſub nocte ſilenti
Pellibus incubuit ſtratis, ſomnoſq; petivit.

And alſo for *purifying* a polluted perſon in the *Eleuſinian* and other ſacrifices: for they took the skinnes of beaſts that had been ſacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. nay there was no ſmall uſe of fleeces and skinnes in ſeverall other buſineſſes: as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) ſate upon a fleece for a cuſhion, to ſhew her purpoſe *Lanificio intendere* of ſpinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd *mad* tricks with skinnes: for among them if a man had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge himſelfe, he would ſacrifice an Oxe, and cut the fleſh into pieces and boyle it, and ſit upon the skinne with his hands behind him, and ſo begge for help: then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the fleſh, and ſetting his right foot on the skinne, promiſed either Men or Armes, or what he beſt could. Such ceremonies as theſe, they accounted a faſt engage-

Sæl. Rhodig.

engagement, and much conducing to the ſucceſſe. Sometimes they would goe & ſleep in a Temple with Lawrell, or ſome ſuch fatidicall ſtuffe tyed about their heads,& ſacrifice to * *Brizo*, the goddeſſe of the *dreamers*, ſo called from Βρίζειν to *ſleep*. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpoſe to *ſleep* in the Temple of *Paſithea*, to watch for dreams. ſo if any were *ſick*, they would goe and ſleep in the Temple of *Æſculapius*, to *dreame of a remedy*, (as they have us'd to doe with us, to goe watch at the Church dore, to know who ſhall dye next) *Pluto* in *Ariſtophanes* did ſo,

* Αὐτὸς ὕπνον ἢ ἐν ὕπνῳ μαντις. *Athenæus l.* 8.

Κατακλίνομαι δ' αὐλεῖον, ὥσπερ Ἀσκληπιῷ.

And the like was wont to be done in Ægypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. but *Juvenal* has ſufficiently declar'd the vanity of all this doings in ſaying, *Sat.* 6.

Non delubra deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt
Sed ſibi quiſq; facit.

Beſides all this they took a ſpeciall care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtaine from Wine for *three*. as likewiſe to forbeare eating Beanes or raw fruit; *Ariſtotle* ſaies there is no credit to be given φθινοπωρινοῖς ἐνυπνίοις, to *dreames in the Autumne*. but *Plutarch* queſtions that againe, * *Sympos l* 9. and ſaies if we eate good and ripe fruit, ὕπνον ἀπατηλοῖς καὶ ψεύδεσιν ἐνυπνίοις σύνεσμεν, *our dreames will be the truer*. *Fiſh* either they counted very good or very bad, for when they ſacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boates full of all manner of things but Fiſh; whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the reiection of the worſt I cannot tell. * *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſower* in the *dreame*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſt*, and therefore compares Poetry to it when it is not moderately uſed. Some choyce there was alſo of the *colour* of their Clothes, for the whiteſt and cleereſt was beſt, κάλλιστον ἐν ὕπνῳ φάρμακον, ſaies *Suidas*: as if Dreams and the Viſions muſt needs be the *cleerer*. The trueſt dreams (ἐνυπνίασις) or the cleareſt * viſions were either a litle after it was day, or towards the *Cal. Rhod. l.* 27. *c.* 10. *Lib. de aud. poem.*

morning (the formes time *Homer* calls νυκλὶς ἀμολγὸν, *the milking time in the Morning*, in oppoſition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγὶς, *the milking time in the evening*)

---- ἔγγυθι δ' ἠὼς
Εὖτε κὲ ἀτρεκέων πεπαίνεται ἔμπης ὀνείρων.

ſaies *Theocritus*, and *Ovid* was of the ſame * mind. *Pliny* ſaies a dreame is never true preſently after eating and drinking. but *Artemidorus* ſaies it is all one for that, ἐπὶ αἱ ἄμετροι φαὶ δὲ περὶ τῆ ὧν παρέχειν ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀληθῆ, *for if you eat too much, the dreame will never be the truer if it tarry 'till morning.*

* Ὡς δὲ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐπέστατο νυκλὶς ἀμολγῷ *Odyſſ. δ.*

* *Nam ſub aurorâ jâ dormitante lucernâ Tempore quo cerni ſomnia vera ſolent.*

CAP. IV.

De duabus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two diſtinct doores for them to come in by, one of Horne, and another of Ivory; for thus much much *Penelope* her ſelfe could tell *Ulyſſes* (when ſhe deſir'd him to interpret her dreames)

Odyſſ. τ.

δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

Auſonius ſaies as much, telling you which are the true, and which the falſe.

In Ephemer.

Et geminas numera portas, quæ fornicè ebur no
Semper fallaces glomerat ſuperaera ſomnos
Altera quæ veros emittit cornea viſus.

And I have heard of ſome Heretick Chriſtians that have believed the ſame. *Philoſtratus* ſaies, that in alluſion to theſe doores, they uſed to picture a dreame with a white garment upon a black, and a *horne* in his hand. The doore for the *true* dreams was of *Horne*.

Ἀπλωτίδα δρώσκοντα δι' ἐυκεράου πυλεῶνος.

Nonnus dion. δ.

(ſurely this was made of the hornes of the Ramme when they ſlept upon the fleece. of which before) The doore for the

the *falſe and deceitfull* dreams, was of Ivory, ſuch as that wherewith *Morpheus* was cozend with in the Poet.

Μορφέα δ' ὑπνώοντα παρέπαφον ὄψις ὀνείρου
Κλειτίων ἐλέφαντος αἰολίξασα πυλάων. *Nonn.*

Lucian therefore jeeres the covetous *Mocyllus* for wiſhing his dreame-doore were of *Gold*, whereas there were but thoſe two in all, as may be gather'd by theſe words in * *Plato*. Ἄκουε τὴ ἐμὸν ὄναρ. ἔστε διὰ κεράτων, εἴτε δι' ἐλέφαντος ἐλήλυθεν. The reaſons of thoſe names I find very prettily gueſſed at by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* at that place above commended; and I ſhall deſire your patience to tell them. Firſt, the true (ſaies he) comes in by the Horne-doore, or ἐκ κέρατος, becauſe τὰ ἔνυπνα κραίνουσι, or κραίνει, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they ſay no more then comes to paſſe; whereas thoſe that come in by the Ivory-doore, or ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφαίρουσι, or ἐλπαίρουσι, delude the dreamer with a fruitleſſe hope of truth. 2ly Κεράτινη εἴσοδος, the *coming in by the Horne* is as much as coming in *cleerely*, for one may ſee throw horne, if it be made thinne. ἐλεφαντίνη, the tother *confuſedly*, for one cannot ſee throw Ivory, nor any other ſuch white things, as milke or the like, if they be never ſo little, and ſo *Macrobius* does Interpret * it too. 3ly By the κέρας, is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or καταχρήσις χιτών, *cornea tunica*, the firſt *coat* of the eye. and by the ἐλέφας, the mouth, or the *Ivory-colour'd* teeth, ἐλεφαντόχρωτες ὀδόντες, and ſo the meaning muſt be, that which is to be *ſeen* with the *eye* is likelier, then that which is but *ſaid* to be ſo from the *teeth*, & this was alſo the opinion of *Servius* concerning the ſame fiction upon thoſe words of *Virgil*

Sunt Geminæ ſomni portæ &c.

4ly By the *Horne*-doore may be meant the paſſage for the more heavenly and Diviner ſort of dreams, ἐφ' οἷς ὄναρ κέρας, or διὰπομπὸς: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι the more earthly, groſſe, and confus'd. becauſe the Elephant's *Trobſcis* turnes downeward towards the Earth, whereas the hornes

* *In Charmide.*

* Speaking of ſleep ſaies he. *Hoc velamen cum in quietè ad verum uſque actum animæ introſpicientis admittit, de cornu creatur cujus iſta natura eſt, ut tenuatum viſui pervium ſit, cum autem à vero hebetat ac repellit; eburnum, ebur putatur, cujus &c. l. 1. c. 3. in Somnium Scip.*

Hornes of other beaſts look upward toward Heaven. 5ly ἐλέφαντος, is the doore for the falſe dreames, becauſe there can be no other but falſe dreams expected when the *Teeth* have eaten too much.

The Gueſts which are to come in by theſe dores, were thought to be *Ghoſts and Spirits* from hell. *umbræ ſhadowes* they might well be, ſuch as aſcend in a *fume* too like Furies from the *neither* parts of the body. againe as Ghoſts are

* *Homer. Odyſ. 4.* ----* ἴσμος ὀνείρων, ſaid to fly in and out like dreams, and death is a ſleep: ſo dreams are ſaid to fly in and out like Choſts, and ſleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them νυκτίφοιτα ἀίσματα, *night-walking bug-beares.* flye they did with *black wings*, like batts of the night; and therefore *Euripides* calls a dreame μελανοπτέρυγον, *Orpheus* ταυνόπτερον, *Lucian* πτηνόν. If this be ſo, the reaſon why before they went to bed, when they meant to dreame, they uſed to ſacrifice a Victime to *Mercury* was it may be not ſo much becauſe of his *rod*, with which he brought people a ſleepe, and awakened them againe, as becauſe he was Centleman-uſher of the Ghoſts. for what reaſon ſoever it was, it ſeems *Mercury* was moſt in their minds when they were ready to ſleepe: and therefore as at feaſts, ſo at other times, the laſt of their prayers was to him, & the laſt health that went round was his; for ſo we find *Calaſiris* in *Heliodorus*, δὸς πᾶσιν &c. after he had prayd to all the reſt of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for ὀνοσκόον νυκτὸς, *a night of good dreams*. hence was it that they uſed to faſten τὰς ἑρμᾶς, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἑρμῆνες. When they ſacrificed that *victime*, they uſed to take the tongue and * burne it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and ſpeech to be conſecrated, ὡς τῷ λόγῳ ἱ ἑρμηνείας ἐφόρῳ, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, with whom agrees *Athenæus*, σεσημάνται ἡ αὐτῷ αἱ γλῶσσαι διὰ τὸν Ἑρμηνείαν. others who did not think dreams to be Ghoſts, and yet would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

L. 3.

Suidas.

* *Schol. on Odyſ. 12.*

* *In Plut.*

Plato

Plato who thought the aire to be full of ſuch things. and ſo *Democritus* (as the Scholiaſt reports, who ſaies that he had it from *Homer* himſelfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dreame κατ' ἐισκεισιν ἢ ἔμπλωσιν, or (as * *Plutarch* has it from the ſame man) κατ' ἐπιδοσεις καὶ ἀφαιρεσεις εἰδώλων, *according to this or that compoſition, or ſeparation of Images, or Ghoſts, or phancies*, or ſomewhat. but indeed I think thoſe εἴδωλα, ſhould not be ſo much Images as Imaginations, nor ſo much *umbræ* Ghoſts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the phancy, proceeding from the *ſpirits* within, and not from thoſe *without*.

In Odyſſ. λ.

* *De Placit. Philoſ.*

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum luſtratione.

FOR their *deſcent*, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*, χθὼν μήτηρ ὀνείρων, ſaies *Euripides*, and the Scholiaſt upon him gives the reaſon, ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς γῆς αἱ τροφαὶ, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τροφῆς οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὕπνου αἱ ὄψεις, *becauſe from the earth comes meat, from meat ſleepe, and from ſleepe dreames*. Some indeed thought they were ſent from *Hecate*, (and ſo they might come from the earth ſtill) and ſome from the *Moone*, which was all one, and ſuited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *kinds* of dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Φαντάσμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. Ὅρασις, 4. Ὄραμα, 5. Χρηματισμὸς. Others divided them into ἀλληγορικὺς, and διαρρηματικὸς ὀνείρους. διαρρηματικοὶ, were οἱ τῇ ἐαυτῆς δίκῃ φαινόμενοι, *when things appeard in their own likeneſſe*. ἀλληγορικοὶ, were when they appear'd in the likeneſſe of *other* things, when one thing was dreamt and another meant, ſuch as *Cæſars* was, when he dreamt that he lay with his Mother, and ſo was inform'd *Imperium orbis terræ portendi quæ cunctorum viventium ſit mater*, that the whole earth the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the diſtinction of dreams was ſo ac-

curate, that in the making of them *Somnus* was fain'd to have no leſſe then three ſervants to wait upon him. for if he would have a dreame that ſhould concerne *men*, he made uſe of *Morpheus*: if *beaſts* of *Phobetor* (as *men* calld him) or *Icelos* (as the *gods* calld him) *Fit fera, fit volucris* ---- if inanimate creatures (*Quæq; vacant animâ* ---- of him that had the name of *Phantaſos* (I wonder how he could remember all theſe ſhapes, and the river of *Lethe* ſpring in his houſe, and his houſe be as darke a denne as any among the *Cimmerii*, for ſo it is fain'd to be.

Ovid. Met l. 12. f. 10.

But after all this doting about a Dreame, is there any remedy if I meet with none of the beſt? Yes, by all means as ſoon as you riſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuffe*, *diis penatibus*.

Propert. l. 2. Eleg 29.

Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ
Quæq; ſibi, quæq; mihi non nocitura forent.

or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιος, ἐξακέσιος, or προσταίτιος, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the Porches. Some had rather doe it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Iupiter*, as *he* does in *Plautus*. but there is better reaſon why they ſhould doe it to the *Sun*, *viz.* Ἵνα ἐπιδὴ ἐναντίος ἐστὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐποπτεύῃ ἐρχόμενος, &c. *Becauſe the Sunne being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evills brought by the ſame.* they are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles* --- ἡλίῳ δ' ἐπὶ μαντείᾳ, &c. they call'd this action ἀποπομπὴν, ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι, and καθαρσίους * ἔννυχον ὄψιν, but moſt properly καθαγνίζεσθαι τῷ ἡλίῳ it was practiſed by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when ſhe had dreamt of the fall of the houſe, although ſhe (or the Poet) had ſo much wit as to think it to be to little purpoſe.

In Electr.

** Eurip. in Hec.*

Ἃ ναιὰ δ' ὕκαι νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα
Λέξω σοὶ αἰδώρ', εἴπ δὲ τὸ δ' ἐς' ἄχος.

Idem in Taur. v. 43.

If you think that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and waſh your ſelfe luſtily in the

the cold River till you ſweat.

----- *ſub lucem ut viſa ſecunent,*
Oro cælicolas, & vivo purgor in amne. *Sil. Hal. l. 8.*

Or if the River water be not good enough, goe to the fountaine, as he did in * *Æſchylus.*

Ἐγὼ δ' αὐίσλω χ' ἁγνὸν καλιρρόᾳ
Ἔλουσα πηγῆς σὺν ὑδατηλῷ χύτλῳ
Βωμῷ παρέστων ἀποβάτοις δαίμοσι
Θέλουσα δῦσαι πίλαγον. * *In Perſis.*

If you think no *cold* water will doe it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Ariſtophanes.*

---- ὃν ποτ' ἐμὸν δεῦρο ἄγετε *In Ranis.*
Θέρματὸ δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς αὖ θέῖον ὄντα χρὴ λουτρὸν καλύσω.

But perhaps no kind of *freſh* water is ſtrong enough; you may doe well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they uſed to waſh away not only the evill of a dreame, but of a crime, or diſeaſe, or any thing elſe: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into Ægypt, being troubled with the falling-ſickneſſe, was bid by the Prieſt, to bath himſelfe in the Sea, and being by that means cur'd he preſently gave his commendation of it.

Θάλασσα κλύζῃ πάντ' τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his ſight. after murther (for other ſinnes they ſcarce thought great enough to *coſt hot water*) it was a common practiſe; and then no feare of the diſpleaſure of a god for the future.

λύμασ' ἁγνίσας ἐμὰ
Μῶνιν βαρβάρου ἐξαλύσομαι δικάς.

SECT. II.

De Divinatione artificiosa, & primo de Ornithomantiâ.

THE *Technicall* part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts, besides which were φήμαι or κληδόνες ominous words or things σύμβολα ἐνόδια, κλῆρες lots, ἱερὰ lights, and indeed ἄπειρα μύρια (as the Scholiast saith upō *Homer*) infinite many more, but the two first were every where most in use. *Quæ est autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum, aut Augurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur.* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisidians*, and the *Umbrians excelled*; and the *Lacedemonians* had so great *esteeme* of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. it was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car*. *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet; adiecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*, so that he proved exceeding usefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, & *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling them the number of the years that the Warre should last, by the number of the Sparrowes destroy'd by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

Il. A.

Cicer. l.1. Divin.

L.7. c.55.

Il. β.

Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœnâ satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for griefe because he could not tell how many Piggs were in the belly of a Sow (say

(ſay ſome) oe how many Figues upon the figtree (ſaith *Heſiod*) which *Mopſus* with whom he conteſted, was able to tell. The name they call'd it by was ὀρνιθομαντεία, or οἰωνιστική. it was οἰονιστικὴ at firſt with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being ἐν τῇ νῦ καὶ διανοίᾳ περιόμενη ἀλλ' ὀψωπίᾳ οἴησις: but *now* (ſaith *Ariſtides*) they write it with *omega*, τὸ ὦ σωμυόντες, *to give the better grace to the word*: and it is ſtill us'd as the old word was, for any kind of divination, as ὄρνις, and οἰωνὸς a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* faſhion to weare a white garment (whereas it was purple or Scarlet among the Latins) and to have his οἰωνιστήριον his *place* and his *ſeat* appointed for the purpoſe, τοῦ δίκας, or δίκης.

Ἰὸς γὰρ πάλαιον δῶκον ὀρνιθοσκόπων ἕζον. ſaies he in *Sophocles*. and the Scholiaſt upon the word δίκος in *Euripides* ſaies it was a *made* place in *Thebes*, where *Tireſias* uſed to ſit and Divine. When they went to it, ὁ οἰωνοσκόπος ἐν πλατεῖ ὑσημείωτο τὰ πτήσεις (ſaith the ſame Scholiaſt) doubting their *memory* might not ſuffice, they carri'd their *Table-books* with them, and wrote downe the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. this and the *ſeeing* too *Tireſias* being blind, and only able to *fore-ſee*, and judge of things as they were told him, was faine to have his daughter to doe *for* him: by which means ſhe her ſelfe at length, after the death of her Father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. yea not only the *habit* of the Greeke *Augures*, but their manner of obſerving was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis ſignis? aliter obſervant, aliter reſpondent*, ſaies *Cicero*. The Greeks accounted the *right ſide* the luckieſt, *Graiis & barbaris dextera meliora*: the Romans the *left*; although (to ſpeak the truth, the *ſide* was the ſame, only the poſture of the *Augures* was different, for the Grecians look'd toward the North, and the Romans toward the South; and the word *ſiniſtra* for *lucky* or *good ſignes*, came not ſo much *à ſiniſtra manu* from

In Antigon.

L. 2.

the *hand's* being left; as a *ſinendo*, from the *man's* being left to his pleaſure to ſet upon his enterprize if he would: ſo ſaies *Feſtus*; and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona ſunt ſiniſtra nos dicere etiamſi dextra ſint*, but yet this was the manner of ſpeech, *viz.* for the Greeks to call the lucky tokens alwaies* ἄξια *right* (and therefore *Statius* may ſeem to have miſtaken when he ſpake of a Grecian Augury

* Ζεὺς ᾗ σφὶν ἀριστερὸς ἐν δεξια σήματα φαίνει. ſaies *Ajax Hom. Il.* 10.

* *Signa feras, lævusq; tones* -----) The Romans ſometimes *dextra*, and ſometimes *læva*; but the one *more ſuo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unlucky* birds (a word us'd among us for an unhappy *wagge*) they called ἐξωλαίμους, or ἐξέδρους, when they fled not, or *pitcht* not in their uſuall height or place. this laſt word puts me in mind of that ſaying of *Hippolitus* perhaps in allusion to it.

* *Theb.* 3.

Eurip. Hippol. v. 934. ---- ἐκπλήσσουσί με
Λόγοι παρηλάσαντες ἐξέδρους φρενῶν.

Sometimes they are called ὑποδύμοι, or κωλυτικοὶ *inhibæ*, εἱρκτίοι *arculæ*, and ἀνικίλοι (as in * *Apollonius*) ab ἴκω *cedo*, as who would ſay *non ſiniſtra*, or *non ſinentia*, as I told you before. and ſuch they commonly counted thoſe that had long talons or * ſcratcht their heads as they fled, ſuch (as they ſay) were ſeen upon *Caſſius* his tent before his defeat; the Latines call them *Volſgras*. But what, is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy againſt a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the worſer ſort, and hang them up at the doore, as we uſe to doe dead Crowes upon a ſtick in the field to ſcare the living away, * ſaies he *Iſtas noctiurnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, ſollicite prehenſas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infauſtis volatibus familiæ minantur exitium ſuis luant cruciatibus.* Birds that were *lucky* either in their nature, or the place they appear'd in, were called αἴσιοι or ἔδριοι, that is, ſuch as were not ἐξέδρους (unſeatly or *unſightly* as we uſe to ſay) but appeard παμπρόσπολοι ἐν ἕδρῃσι, as * *Æſchylus* has it, in their proper *Spheare or ſeat.* ſuch they counted Doves, and the σιτὴ in matters of Love,

* Κίρκον πτερύγων ἐροσμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κέαρ πίλνοντα. ſaies *Æſchilus*.

* Ὄρνιν ἰδὼν τινὰ ἐν αἰσίοις ἕδρῃσι Eurip. in Hec.

Metam. lib. 3.

of

and the Cocks if they kept a continuall crowing in matters of Warre. for hereupon the Augurs once foretold the *Thebans* a victory. *propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere si vicisset.* Cock-fightings indeed were usually σήματικοὶ saith * *Artemidorus, signes of sedition and discord:* but then you must except the Cock-*matches* kept once a year in the Theatre and instituted by b *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians* from whom * the Cock first came into *Athens.* this bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictur'd with a Cock: in so much that it was their ordinary sacrifice to Mars, and therefore *Aristophanes in Avibus* calls it Ἄρεος ποτνὸν, *Mars his own bird.* All birds (saith one) were either μαντικὰ, or μυσικὰ, or σκαλάσια. The μαντικὰ (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owles, the most noted of all: some of them are thought to have had a kind of language which the Augurs came to understand, by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venemous & veneficall means. *Qui credit ista* saies Pliny, *& Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur quem quisquam ederit intellecturus sit avium colloquia.* *Eustathius* saies that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus lick'd cleane into Augurs. Ἕλενον γὲ καὶ Κασσάνδραν ἐν ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντων ἐλθόντας ὄφεις καὶ τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν ἐκλείξαντας ὥστε ὕστερον ἐξυνίεσαν ἱερεύσαντο ὡς μάντεις τὰς τῶν ὀρνέων ἀκούειν βουλάς. I am glad I am sav'd the labour to reprove those fellowes *Euripides Hecuba.* my selfe: for it seems that the wiser sort even amongst them did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a birds taile when they had a mind to be serious. Look in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamas* the Theban *Augur* (who had disswaded from fighting by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies he, *you may if you think good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,*

b *Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 28.*

* *Athen. l. 14.*

Rosin.

* *Sch. In Aristoph. Aves.*

L. 10. c. 49.

Εἷς

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Salus populi eſt ſuprema lex, and where there is an abſolute neceſſity of fighting or any thing elſe, there needs not the authority of a Law to back it, nor the face of a bird to countenance it. In *Ariſtophanes* you find the birds themſelves *oſcinentes*, *chirping* and *gibing* their ſpectators for their ſuperſtition.

Ἕσμὲν δ' ὑμῶν δαίμων, ἀελφοὶ δωδώνη, φοῖός θ' Ἀπόλλων
Ἐλθόντες γὰρ παρ' ἐκ ὄρνεις ἔτω πρὸς ἅπαντα τρέπεσθε.

CAP. I.

De Extiſpicinâ, & quibuſdam aliis.

DIvination by the Entrals of beaſts, or *Extiſpicina* (for ſo *Aruſpicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the beſt part of it) was more common then the former in all places, (*Extis omnes fere utuntur*) ſaies *Cicero*, and eſpecially at *Elis* by the two families of the *Jamidæ*, and the *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmeſſus* in *Caria* much improv'd. *Tireſias* had ſo great skill in this art (I cannot ſay *inſight*, becauſe *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindneſſe*) that even after his death, among the Ghoſts there was none but but * his. *Ulyſſes* himſelfe, was faine to trouble his ſoule to come back againe to give him advice. The whole buſineſſe of Divining at the offering of a Victime (for there was ſome thing elſe to doe beſides poring in the guts) was called ἱερωσκοπία: and a very ſolemne buſineſſe it was, being uſually attended with a feaſt accordiug to that

* *Pindar.*

* τῷ χ' ὑπὸ νοήμων νόον πόρε πρόσφορα εἰδὼς πάντυχα. *Hom. Odyſſ. K.*

Eurip. Elect. v.835. ---- ὅπως πάσσειαν δαιτὸς ὁμάδα.

Θυηκὴ, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφιβόλια, and the act of cutting ἐκμοτεῖν. the ſignes obſerved were moſt properly called σημεῖα, and the obſervers σημειωτικοὶ. If the beaſt were drawn by force to the ſlaughter, if it eſcaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying, kept

kept beating the ground, they were all ill ſignes. for the two latter of them you have ſadly expreſs'd in the ſacrifice of *Ægyſtus*.

---- πᾶν γ' σῶμ' ἦν κἀπὶ — *Ibid.*
Ἡσπαιρεν. ὑλάλαζεν ἀνδηθὲν φίλῳ

Ill ſignes I ſay *thoſe* were, and ſo was any thing elſe that either was contrary to nature or uſe, or put themſelves to any trouble. whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with eaſe, the beaſt not ſtriving, and the blood preſently *darting* out, as it is ſaid it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

----- αἵματος δ' ἐκρῴσκε — *Idem. in Vel.* v. 1603.
Ἰὸς οἵ θ' ὑμὶν ἐσηκόντιζον ἕκαστα.

Somewhat there was too, which they obſerv'd in the very νεύματα or *wagging* of his * Taile, whence that in the Poet.

----- Ἢ κίχεσε πυθὲν κελεύσῃ; — * χ. *In Ariſtoph. Pac.*

The beaſts which were thus uſed were anciently Sheep, and Goates, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they ſay) made uſe of Sowes, and the *Famidæ* of doggs; which was the reaſon why * *Thraſybulus* one of that pedigree was pictur'd at *Olympia* with a Dog lying by him diſſected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his ſhoulder. — * *Pauſ. in Eliac.*

In *Fiſſiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took moſt notice of the *Liver*, which * *Philoſtratus* ſaies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chaire*, and the *key* of the work. for they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the reſt of the body muſt needs be ſo too; inſomuch that the work about all the bowels was call'd ἱπποσκοπία a *looking* into the *liver*. the Concavous part of the Liver was call'd ἑστὰς *familiaris*, becauſe the ſignes which they obſerved there, concerned *themſelves and their friends*: the *Gibbous* ſide, ὀπίθολις or αὐτοσάης *hoſtilis*, becauſe the tokens in it concern'd their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place or *ſeat* in which all the parts of the Liver lay, was called ἕδρα or ἀρχή: the place between the parts in the middle πυ- — * ἐν ἥπατι φασὶ δὲ αὐτῷ μαντικὴν οἱ πάνυ εἰδότες τοῦτο. *Heſych.*

* χ. ad orat. Demoſt. Coron.

λαῖα, and εὐρυχωρία. * *Heſychius* calls it ὀδὺς or ἐνθηκὰς, *Euripides* πυλαὶ.

---- πυλαὶ χ' ἁλὸς πίλας
Κακὰς ἔφαυον τῷ σκοπεῖντι σφαζολάς.

If there were ἁλὰς (as they calld it) too *much dryth*, or ἀσμὸς a tye *between the parts*, or eſpecially if it were ἄλοβον or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill ſign, according to that of *Appian* τὰ σφῶτα ἄλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δ' ἕτερα ἐς θάνατον αὐτόν. this and other ſuch ſignes becauſe they were ſo bad, that they fear'd to *goe any farther in it*, they calld ἀκέλδια. When they came to handle the heart, they call'd it καρδιοῦσθαι or καρδιωλκεῖν: if it were little, or palpitat'd much, it was an ill ſigne. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (κνίσωσι κῶλα συγκαλύπτει) ſaies *Æſchylus*; and ſo were σπλάγχνων πτυχὲς. *plaits and foldings*, ſaies *Euripides*.

L. 2.

When they came to *burning*, then they were ſaid more properly δι' ἐμπύρων μαντεύεσθαι. at *Delphos* they had πυρκόοι, *officers* of purpoſe for the worke. the *fire* which they made uſe of for this occaſion, was in moſt places made of ſome peculiar fewell, kindled by the beames of the Sunne, and kept in a peculiar place. thus in Ægypt they had the *ſeraphim*, and among the Perſians, the fire which they worſhiped under the name of *Orimaſda*. At Athens they had a torch ſtill burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* conſtantly there to ſee it renewed; juſt as it was at Delphos, and at Rome in the Temple of *Veſta*.

Heſych.

Xenoph.

In burning they obſerved eſpecially the flames, whatever he in * *Helena* ſay to the contrary, where he ſpeaks againſt all other divination too

* V. 751.

Οὐδ' ἢν ἄρ' ὑγρὸς ἐκ πύρ' ἐμπύρου φλογὸς.

Good ſignes in the flame were theſe, if it went upright without any noyſe, if it continued till all were conſum'd; or if it ſuddenly began to have the latter ſigne, inſteed of χίζαι *cleft wood*, which they uſed at other times, they would get ſmall dry ſticks that would ſooneſt take fire, τὰ φρύγανα, according

cording to that,

Οὐκ ἔνδικόν σοι μαντικῆς τὸ φρύγανον πάθειν. *Aristoph. in Pace.*

Now indeed many times ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἦν ἄσημα καὶ σαφῆ, γνώσιμοι [b] *Sch. in Eurip.*
ἐς πῦρ ἐλέπτοντες, that is, the priests being *divinarum*[c] *sagacis tammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing to be seen in the cutting*: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wooll (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλλοδίτεις κύστεις) put it into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and *which way it darted* the Urine, [d] καὶ πῆ τὸ θεῖον ἀκοντίζει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good signe. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the *gall*, and the ἀμφὶ λαμπὰς in the flame: & very good reason, [*] πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ, *for enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burn.* Of the Ashes too they took some notice, μαντεῖα πολλὰ, saies [*] *Sophocles*. In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. and so at other times they used to throw frankinsence and Poppy, and other severall things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to *sell the smoake*. Besides these there were infinite more *Divelish* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκρομαντία or Νεκυομαντία, was sometimes by the magicall use of a *bone*, or a *veine* of a dead body, after the fashion of the *Thessalians*: or else by powring hot blood into the breast of the carcasse, to make it answer a question as *Erictho* does in *Lucian*,

----- *Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit*
Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atraq; sævit
Vulnera. &c.---

Now because the *Ghost* or the *Soule*, was thus recall'd to the body (--- *animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes term'd ψυχομαντεία or Σκιομαντεία, *Divining by the Soule* or the *Ghost*. but such as expected any answer thus from the soule *then*, must be sure to be kind to the *body before*,

[c] *Sil. Ital.*

[d] *Id.*

[*] *Eurip. in Phæn.* Μάντεις μὴλ' ἑσφάζον, ἐμπύρους τ' ἀκμὰς ῥήξεις τ' ἐνώμων ὑλέγματ' ἐσπίνων Νίκης τοῦμα καὶ θεῶν ἠσκημένων.

[*] *In Oedip. Tyr.*

† Καλὸν δ' ἄημα θυμάτων ἀνῳχώ· θελκτήριοι πλοκαὶ δ' ὧν πέλας. *Horace.*

for *Meliſſa* the Wife of *Periander* refus'd to anſwer him, be-
Herod.l.6. cauſe he had not buried her body as he ſhould. but ſurely
there was ſomewhat worſe then a Soule; elſe what need of
* *Stat. l.4.* *luſtration* of the party? ſuch as *Tireſias* us'd to the * *Theban*
King, to keep him from receiving harme. *Hydromanteia* was
ſometimes by *Sea*-water, but moſt commonly by that of a
fountaine, and ſo was call'd πηγομαντεία. it was done ſeverall
waies. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many
a *Poet* too) ὃι τῆ ὑπορρύτων ὑδάτων πόσει μαντικοὶ γινόμενοι,
ſaies *Ariſtides* in his *Orat. de Puteo.* 2ly By throwing things
into it to try whether they would ſink or ſwimme, as they
Pauſan. in Laconi. did *cakes* in the Well of *Ino*. 3ly By *ſeeing the Images* of ſuch
things as they ſought for, eſpecially in the well of *Apollo*
Thyxeus in *Achaia*. 4ly By *dipping a glaſſe* in the water, to
know what would become of a *ſick* man. for as he lookt wel
or ill in that glaſſe, accordingly they preſum'd of his fu-
ture condition. 5ly By throwing in *three ſtones*, and ob-
ſerving the *rounds* they made in the ſinking. ſometimes
they made uſe of oyle, or of Wine inſtead of Water, and ſo
it was tearm'd χύτλα, as when it was done in a Baſon, λεκανο-
μαντεία. θυμαντεία, was by a *Syderitis* a kind of *loadſtone*, which
if they waſht it in ſpring-water, would ſpeak like a child.
with ſuch a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the de-
ſtruction of Troy. κοσκινομαντεία, was by a Sive held up by a
Thred, or a paire of Sheeres, and turning round at the
naming of the party that ſtole the thing or the like. of this
Theoc. Idyl.3. and I have ſeen it us'd by ſome Women, *impia*
fraude, or *anili ſuperſtitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not
leaſure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other
waies of divining, of δακτυλομαντεία, with *Gyges* his *ring*, or of
ὠοσκοπία with *Egges*, which *Suidas* ſaies *Orpheus* wrote a book
of. or of πεδομαντεία with *Barley*, or of λυχνομαντεία, by the
burning of a Candle, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Naturall Hiſtory*,
l.30.c.11. and by *Aratus* in his *Prognoſticks*. to which you may adde
their common old-wives *Sawes* concerning Weather or the
like,

like, ſuch as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to diſparage thoſe *Aſtrologicall* more and *Rationall*, ſuch as that of *Virgils*.

Luna revertentem, &c. with the reſt.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have ſpoken is to conjecture by *things*; but there is a way by *words* alſo; by which, according as the words were good or bad, they preſaged ſuch and ſuch events. ſuch words were called κληδόνες or φήμαι, from φάναι (ſutable to the name of *Prytheia*) as *omen* comes from *ore-men*, *quia fit ore* (quoth *Feſtus*) you may render it *voices* (for ſo we uſe to call thoſe Prophetick ſpeeches, which we heare we know not from whence, as the Scripture alſo does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*; *Pythagorei non ſolum voces dicorum obſervarunt, ſed etiam hominum.* Any words that either boded ill, or ſignified that which they diſlik'd, they called Νόσφημα, and he that uſed them to another, either to hurt him, or to vexe him, was ſaid to Βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν to *blaſpheam* him, or φθόγγος βλασφημίας as *Euripides* calls it, where he ſpeaks of certain ominous ſpeeches let fall at a feaſt by a ſervant juſt as one of the company was going to drinke *L. 1. Divin.*

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο *Ion. v. 1188.*

The Latines call it *obſcenare*, and the words themſelves *male ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may engliſh it *halzening ſpeeches*. ſuch words as theſe they had alwaies a ſuperſtitious care to avoid, inſomuch that they would ſay inſteed of δεσμωτήριον *a priſon*, οἴκημα *a houſe*. and ſo for Ἐρίννυες, Εὐμενίδες, and Σεμναὶ θεαὶ for πόνος, κόλασις, for μῦς, ἄλως, and the like. for there is a kind of words the which (as *Tully* ſaies of *Nulla ſpes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, or to ſpeak in the phraſe of *Terence*, *Religio eſt*, *dicere* they *made a ſcruple to ſpeake*, *In Epiſt. ad Caſſium.*

and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſſe with the gods nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved then εὐφημίαν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy-daies) to avoid all ominous expreſſions or κακὰς ὄψεις (as they calld them) which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whoſe buſineſſe was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them ſo much the worſe. what words were eſpecially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, *viz. De vocibus male ominatis*. only thus much I may tell you, that when they firſt ſet about any buſineſſe of concernement, they had a ſpeciall care to begin with a *Preface* ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, or τοῦ παιδὸς, or ἐπὶ μιᾷ τοῦ, like to *Perſius* his *hoc bene ſit*, and that old thred-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix fortunatumq; ſit*. Some words there were, and Proper names of ſuch ſignification, as it was counted a happineſſe but to heare them ſpoken. for ſo when *Iulus* had ſaid

Menſas etiam conſumimus ---- preſently (ſaies *Virgil*) his Father laid hold on the *word* and embraced the omen

----- ea vox audita laborum
Prima tulit finem, primumq; loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater ----

So *Leotychides* when he deſir'd of a *Samian* his aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*, asked what his name was, and being anſwered *Hegeſiſtratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησίστρατος κῶμαι ἐπ' οἰωνὸν: for κῶμαι ἐπ' οἰωνὸν, is the ſame with *them*, that *accipere omen* is with the *Latines*, that is, to make an ominous ſpeeck an omen indeed, and *take* it to my ſelfe. for indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *oſtentorum vires in eorum erant poteſtate quibus oſtendebantur*, ſaies *Pliny*.

Plato l 7. de Leg.

Now the way to *ab-ominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a ſtone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat or the

the like; or elſe if it were an unlucky *ſpeech*, to retort it back againe with εἰς κεφαλὴν σοὶ, *tibi in Caput redeat, let it returne upon thine own head*, an expreſſion borrowed from a cuſtome of the ἱερόσκοποι, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians alſo, who wen they ſpied any thing in the *victims*, that ſeemed to portend ill to their Country, uſed to pray, εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι, that *it might returne upon the head of the beaſt*. the like perhaps is uſed in the Hebrew, *viz.* ישב בראש in ſeverall places of the Scripture, and it puts me in mind of that ſaying in *Seneca*, *Quis non ſi admoneatur ut de ſuis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen reſpuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipſius intempeſtivi monitoris abire illa jubeat*: inſteed of this ſometimes they would ſay* εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοὶ, *dii monuerint meliora*: ſometimes upon ſuch an unlucky ſpeech ſpeech heard while they did ſuch a thing, they would doe it *another way*; or doe it *again*, as one in *Euripides*, upon ſomebodies ſpeaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground and call'd for another cup. Herodot. Obadiæ v. 15. & 1. Kings 2. v. 44. &c. * *Moſch. Idyl.* 2.

Things ominous ſome of them were in the parties own body, and thoſe were either 1. *Markes*, ſuch as ἁλώσεις ſpots like oyle. 2. Παλμοὶ. 3. Πταρμοὶ. παλμικὰ ἰσώνισματα, were ſuch as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muſcles, call'd in Latine *Saliſſationes*, & βόμβος or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the *right* eare, it was as good as the palpitation of the * *right eye*. of theſe things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*: and *Poſidonius* another (ſaies *Suidas*) which he called Παλμικὸν ἰσώνισμα. * Ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμὸς μοὶ ὁ δεξιός *Theocr. Id.* 3.

Πταρμὸς *Sneezing*, was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly eſteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a god. Τὸ πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγοῦνται, ſaies *Ariſtotle* in his Problems: which was the reaſon ſaith * *Athenæus*, that they abſtain'd from eating the *braine*, out of which the ſneezing came: as alſo the cauſe of that uſuall prayer or ſalutation Ζεῦ σῶσον, at a ſneezing: according to that jeere of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long noſe, * L. 2.

as

as if it had ſtood ſo farre out, that he could not heare himſelfe when he ſneezed.

Οὐδὲ λέγει, ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πταρῇ, ἢ χδ ἀκούει
Τῆς φύσεος πολὺ χδ τ ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.

Insomuch that if a man ſneez'd at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſſe undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was) had ſo litle *ſenſe* himſelfe, as to fetch advice from another mans *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſteed of a genius or a *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man Sneez'd in the *after-noone* it was a good omen, but ill in the morning, and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in the *Probleme*. if a man Sneez'd at table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man, then beware all is not *right*; but if it happened on the other hand, all was well; if I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight upon no other ground then ſuch a ſneeze, ἅμα χ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε. ſuch a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a Generall; but another while he perſwaded the Souldiers to fight, was to *them* ſuch an omen of ill luck, that they were faine to nuncupate a publike vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as, in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his returne, and revenging himſelfe of his enimies

Ὡς φάτο, τηλέμαχος δὲ μὲγ' ἔπταρεν ---- and ſo *Penelope* took it; for (ſaies ſhe, laughing and rejoycing) οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι σε ἐπέπαρε πᾶσιν ἑταίροις, and the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholſome* σωτηρώδες, which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides* when he added ἴσον χδ Σωτῆρα τι χδ φίλιον ἔστιν πᾶς ἕκαστος. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long agoe ſlighted

Plutarch. de dæmon. Socrat.

ſlighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiſer ſort: for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the ſouldiers happened to ſneeze, as he was going on ſhipbord, being therefore diſſwaded from going by the Maſter of the ſhip, burſt out a laughing and ſaid πῶϛ γὰρ οἰώνισμα ἐὶ ποϛὸν ἑνὸϛ πτάρει πολλῶν τοιούτων; *what great omen can it be for one man to ſneeze when there be ſo many together.* but among the *Romans* a great deale more, for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ ſi ſuſcipiamus, & pedis offenſio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & ſternutamenta erunt obſervanda.* L. 2. de Divin.

Ominous *actions* or *accidents* were ſuch as theſe following. Firſt at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much us'd, to take a piece of the *cake* or *any* other thing, and carry it home *bonæ ſcævæ gratia*, as we ſay, *for the lucks ſake.* this piece of cake, or pudding, or what ſhall I call it, they called by the name of * ὑγίεια *ſanitas.* If in Sacrificing the Prieſt did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlvcky *accident:* this obſervation the Romans call'd *caducum auſpicium.* 2ly At a *Feaſt* this action was lucky, to crowne the cup with a Garland ---- *pateram & Coronâ Induit.*

The reaſon (ſaies *Euſtathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, becauſe a Garland repreſents a circle, τὰ δὲ πιεῖϛα σχήματα ἐϛὶ τέλεια δὲ καὶ πολυχάριϛα, *which is the moſt complete figure of all, and holds moſt.* Unlucky *accidents* were ſuch as theſe, *viz.* The coming in of a ſtrange black dog, the creaking of the Table, the ſpilling of Wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a Book) taking away while one was a drinking, or a ſudden ſilence. In putting on of the clothes the right ſide muſt be ſerv'd firſt; and therefore if a ſervant had but given his Maſter the *left* ſhooe firſt, he was ſure to have * it. and thus much at *Home.* *Abroad* they had for their omens συμβολα ἐνόδια, or συμβόλους ὄρνιθας. that is (ſaies the * *Scholiaſt*) τὰ πρῶτα ξυναντῶντας *occurſacula, any thing that met them firſt.* of ſuch as theſe one named *Hippocrates* (not the Phyſitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books

* ὑγίεια ἅλφιτα ὕϛερ καὶ ἀλαῖον περυσμένα, καὶ πᾶν τοῦϛο τὸ δυὸ φερόμενον, ὅϛτι μύρον, ὅϛτε δυλλοϛ. *ſaies Heſychius.*

* ὁ οἰκέτης ὁ μαγείρος τὰ ὑποδήματα ὁπόταν φορῶν πρῶτον ἄρῃ τὸ ἀριϛερόν. *Chryſoſtom.* * *In Ariſtoph. Av.*

Suidas.

If a Snake lay ſo in the way as to part the company; or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with Whelps, or a Fixen with Cubbs; O! theſe things were δυσάντητα, δυσπόνητα καὶ ἀποτρόπαια πράγματα, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable ſights. So if a man hapned to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, ἐπὶ πόδα ἀπαρήσει, ſaith *Lucian*, *he muſt ſtand forty foot off.* nay if we meet with but a Weezle or ſuch a creature in the croſſe way, we will have no *Comitia* fit for all this day. and *Artemidorus will give you a reaſon why a γαλῆ ſhould be ſo much taken notice of, in his * διακόσμῳ or running by, becauſe (forſooth) it is ἰσόψηφος to δίκη, that is (as I think) the letters in each word will ſignify the ſame number, *viz.* 42. but if it be ſo, how came ſhe to be ſuch an enemy to δίκη, as to interrupt the courſe of *juſtice*? perhaps it was only then when they omitted that uſuall ceremony of leading her about the houſe for a *luſtration* to purge it of *unlucky* things. Infinite many more ſorts of divination might I mention of this kind, but it will ſufficiently teſtify what regard the Grecians had of ſuch bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himſelfe had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens μαντικὴν ἀπὸ κληδόνων. ſo likewiſe at *Smyrna* he had his κληδόνιον ἱερὸν in *his Temple*, for omens too (ſaies *Pauſanias*) where the faſhion was for him that came for an omen, firſt to whiſper his queſtion in the *Idol's* eares, and then preſently ſtopping his own, to goe forth of the temple, and the firſt voyce he heard after he came out muſt goe for the Oracle. And ſo much of divining by a conjecture by art, one word or two of lots, and Ile have done.

Lucian.

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

* *L.* 3.

* *Plutarch. de Philadel.*

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

In Eliacis.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former, becauſe in it (as *Cicero* ſaies) *temeritas & caſus non ratio & conſilium valet*: for though there might be *caſus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *perſon* to give the ſignification. it was *invented* by *Minerva*, only *Jupiter* took away her *credit* to make the better trafling for *Apollo*. *Caſting* or *drawing* lots, was either with ἀστράγαλοι or *tali caſt* into a box, or with *teſſeræ* (γεγμματῖαι * *Plutarch* calls them) little woodden tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a pot, or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with markes upon them for the names, ſometimes taken out of a pot, and ſometimes thrown into a well (whether to ſee which came up firſt, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of the wooden tables, that they were uſed in the Temple of *Hercules* Βυθῖνὸς *in Achaia*, and the like (the ſay) were uſed by the *Parliament of Five hundred*, with the characters of the ten firſt letters upon them, to ſhew to which of the tenne Courts every Judge was to goe (together with the Image of a rod the Enſigne of Mercury, the god of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the ſigne of *Alpha*, and they that had the reſt, to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. *One* of theſe waies or *all* (*which* I know not) was ſo much us'd by the *Thriæ*, (the *three Nymphs* reported to have been the nurſes of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thriæ* came to be uſed for *ſortes lots*, according to that

Πολλοὶ δειδυλοι φασὶν ἓ τὰ μάντιν ἄδρας.

Calculi were very much uſed in *ancient* times in *Judging of cauſes*, and in *Wreſtling matches*, and the like, though (it ſeems) in *Cicero*'s time not ſo much. *Quis enim magiſtratus, aut quis vir illuſtrior utitur ſortibus? cæteris vero in locis planè refrixerum.*

* *In Fabio.*

* *De iis ſupra.*

L. 2. de Divin.

In their *Wreſtling-matches*, I have read that they had a ſilver pot called the κάλπις, into which they put little *pellets* about the bigneſſe of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one marke; and thoſe that hapned to draw the *ſame* marke were to Wreſtle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named ἔφεδρον) was to *come in at Kings* (as we ſay) or to wreſtle laſt with him that had the maſtery. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, has been ſhewed by another * already: but that they were us'd alſo by perſons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Ariſtophanes in Pace*: for by reaſon that one only was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgement was revers'd, the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt, and he that drew firſt was commonly call'd by the name of Ἑρμῆς the *Mercury*. Thus in the ſhips in a ſtorme, they uſed to caſt lots who ſhould be thrown over bord for a κάθαρμα. thus *Euſtathius* ſaies the lot fell to * *Iſmene*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. and ſo in moſt of the Temples that were reſorted unto for Oracles there were οἱ κλῆροι *Lotts* and a table of purpoſe to *throw* for it, after the receiving of the anſwer; for ἐὰν βάλλοντός μου τὸ ζ ἀναβῇ, ἀποτελεσθήσεται τὸ ζ: εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἀποτελεσθήσεται (ſaies the Σ upon *Pindar*) *if I throw ſuch a caſt the Prophely will be fulfill'd, if I doe not, it will not.* nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and croſſe waies they had their *ſortes viales* (ἐνοδίους συμβόλους *Æſchylus* calls them and ἐνόδιος is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans: for the party that would know his fortune, carried ſo many cuts about him, with ſeverall inſcriptions, and the next boy he met with in the way as he went, he bid him draw, and if that which came forth agreed with that which he had in his mind, it went for as good a Prophely as the beſt, according to that of *Tibullus* Eleg. 1.

Ille ſacras pueri ſortes ter ſuſtulit, illi
Rettulit è triviis omnia certa puer.

Artemi-

* Pag. 118.

* L. 7.

* Pyth. Od. 4.

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* ſpeaks of ἐπὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, diviners in the *Market*. the originall of this divination *Plut.* in his book *de Iſide & oſiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. for when *Typho* had put *Oſiris* in a cheſt and thrown him into the Sea, *Iſis* as he was wandring too and fro to ſeek him, happned upon a company of boyes at play, and asking of them, they ſhew'd him the place. ὃν τότε τὸ παιδάριον μαντικὴν ἔσχε δύναμιν ὅισιδαι Ἄγυπτίους καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τύπων. Καληδόνι παιζόντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ φθεγγομένων ὅπ αὖ τύχωσιν. Beſides theſe waies already mention'd, they had another, by opening ſuch a Poet in one or more places, and taking the firſt Verſes they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called ψιχομαντείαν, or βαλλομαντείαν, and of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of, and *Virgilianæ*, which they ſay *Severus Alexander* made uſe of, when he met with this verſe of *Virgil*

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Chriſtians themſelves have not ſtick't to practice the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* ἀνοίξαν ἔκεινε δεῖν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ τὸ ἐμβλημα ἐπὶ οἰκείων ἀπειλῶν. and thus *Heraclius* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counſell out of the New Teſtament, καὶ ἔυρεν ὀπτερέπουτα ἐν Αλβανίᾳ ἐξαχθμάσαι, and to have been thereby perſwaded to Winter in *Albania*. ſometimes they would make choyce of diverſe fatidicall verſes, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Aug. l. 3. Confeſſ. c.3.* makes mention of theſe lotteries. *Si enim de Paganis poetæ cujuſpiam longe aliud canentis atq; intendentis, cum ſortem quis conſulit, mirabiliter conſonus negotio ſæpe verſus exiret.* and this way they ſay that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. but thus much may ſuffice of κλῆροι *ſortes*, for by κλῆρος in the *ſingular* number, is many times meant the hint or occaſion given to Diviners to ſpeak what they did. τὸ σημεῖον τὸ δεδόμενον τοῖς μαντευομένοις ἀφ' ὧν οἱ μάντεις ὁρμῶνται καὶ *in Epict. Hippol.* προφητεύουσι τοῖς πόλλοντων.

For the Diviners themſelves, *Vates* or μάντεις, as they did but little better then *faine* like Poets; ſo they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Lawrell about their heads, as the Poet * ſaies of *Caſſandra* * χλωρὸν κλάδον δάφνας κατιμάζουσιν. for why *--venturi præſcia laurus.* the Lawrell they took to be a thing of ſpeciall and ſoveraigne virtue, both to ſet a man a Prophecying, (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it ἀνασπίνον δάφνην) and to preſerve him from any evill; and therefore very much us'd in Luſtrations, inſomuch that they would commonly have the ſtaves they carried in their hands, to be made of the Lawrell wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like *publike* perſons. χρησμολόγοι μισθὸν ἐσχον ἐν πρυτανείῳ δικάσιμοι, ſaies the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtoph.* there was one more *noted* Fraternity of them called the μυστάδες ἴδιόν τι ἔχουσι μάντεων, ſaies *Heſych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis.* the eldeſt was of *Eleon* in *Bœotia*, the next of *Athens* (he that cur'd the *Lacedemonian* women of their *madneſſe*) and the youngeſt of *Caphua* in *Arcadia* (of *Locris* ſome ſay) otherwiſe called Κύδας, and Ἀλώπης. anſwering to theſe three *men*, the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* (in *Irene*) ſaies there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sibylla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythræa*, and *Sardiaca.* but the firſt (I believe) had moſt of the *Spirit of Python, and brought her Maſter moſt gaine by Southſaying.*

* Eurip. Ipbig. in A. v. 757.

* In Androm.

* Acts c. 16. v. 16.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done ſo much ſo ill already, I muſt be forced to doe more yet, and excuſe one fault with another. for my deſire is to leave

leave thee fully ſatisfied with my reaſons why I did it at all, and why I did it no better. The cords that drew *me to doe it* (*and* drawn *I was*) *were* three, *ſuch as twiſted together I could by no means break.* viz. *Firſt the Importunity of my friend* 2 *The neceſſity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Cuſtomes, for the underſtanding of Authors, and* 3. *The hopes which I had, by Employment* (*as by an* Iſsue) *to divert my humor of Melancholy another way. The cauſes why I did it* no better *are as many.* viz. *Firſt want of years and judgement, having done the moſt part of it in my* Tyrocinium (*when I took more delight in theſe ſtudies*) *as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited.* 2. *Want of health.* and 3. *Want of time and leaſure being call'd*

away

away by occaſions that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be diſobeyed. If yet I have given thee but a little light, and my labour and oyle be not all loſt, I have as much as I deſir'd my ſelfe, and thou haſt no more then I owed thee.

Μέσων ἔτι ὑπῆν ὅ σ' ἔχων Θ; Ἐρεχθεώτης
Μητέρα εἶχε δύω, Πατέρα δ' ὄλε, Σῶμα γὸ ἄλλος
Ἄλλῳ ἔδωκε ψυχλὼ, εἶπερ ψυχὴ ἐπετελέχεια.
Ἦ σὺ, Πέπον, Πλήρωμα, τὸ σεῖο πρῶμα, τετεύξω.
Εὖγε, τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἀεὶ
Μᾶλλον ἀποστίλβουν Σκυδικῇ κεκρυμμένα τέφρᾳ.

Ἐκδῦσα εἰρὶ νέα τι νέον; τόξον, ὄρχος, ἔρωτες,
Θρίγκες, λεχοὶ. Ἰκὴ, Μαστοσύνη. ΠΟλεμος.

FINIS.

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ LIBRI SEPTEM.

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ARISTIDES.

Περιαλλομένοις τὰς ἀκοὰς, ὑπερχόμενα, μεῖζον ἔχοντος ἔργου ἐστὶ, τὰ φυλαξόμενα ἢ ὅτῳ χρησόμενα, ὁρᾶν. *When others have in the same Argument preoccupated mens eares, they that speake afterward of the same subject, have a greater trouble to consider what they must passe by unsaid then what to say.*

OXFORD,
Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD, for *John Addams*, and *Ed. Forrest* Junior. 1649.

TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
Sir NATHANIEL BRENT Knight
Vicar Generall, and the most vigilant
Warden of Merton Colledge in
OXFORD, *Health, &c.*

IT is the custome of most, to impose a patronage of their errours upon some eminent person. But it shall be my ambition in this my Dedication, to manifest my observancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to shun the darts of envy. It shall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency; whose ignorance is not so great but

well knowes that ever Envie will bite in ſecret, and ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the wind, and ſet as lightly by as they are vaine. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings, be ſufficiently able to ſhelter my faults; yet had I rather to expreſſe my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſſe truly knowes * how to pardon the bold adventures of learning. I preſent you therefore with *Athens*, whoſe deplorable raggednesſe my papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe, that they aſsimulate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained. Which of all men, I my ſelfe am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurſe of reaſon, * which flouriſhtin eloquence, & brave atchievements more then all *Greece*, could not, unleſſe in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That *Athens* Whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, *Baſil* his eloquence

* Auſis literarum ignoſcere Vegetius in Prolog.

* Cic. Epiſt.
* Patercul. in fine Lib. 1.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his strength, & others their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which who had not seene is by * *Lypsius* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, these Reliques of that famous Universitie, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well esteemed of, though among most of these our daies accounted durt; whose labour it is to seek new fashions, and like nought but what may be accounted novelty. Resembling the brute, of which *Cicero. Ad id solum quod adest, quodq; præsens est se accommodat, paulum admodum sentiens præteritum, &c.* never caring for what is past. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with those Champions of Learning, hundreds of years since gathered to their former dust By whose pensills wee see drawne the lively Images of deceased Monarchs, the formes of goverment, and very lives of states. Out of which patternes, if you please to deeme the least part of this to have been taken, it shall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not seeme a spurious and de-

* Apud Dicæarchum Ἐι μὴ τοῦτο ἀσαν τὴς Ἀλλως, εἶλεχθω.

generate, ofspring. Upon preſumption of which I feare not, as the Eagles doe their young, to expoſe my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wiſhes for addition to your happineſſe, I take leave, From my Study in *Merton Colledge* June 9. 1637.

Your Worſhips in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROVS.

To the Reader.

IT is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me runne hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of Schoole-maſters, who undertake to read the Greeke Orators to raw Schollers, themſelves being not ripe in the Attick cuſtumes. I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage me that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour to heare of it from any. For

I

I am not of those whose eares are stopt, when their errors are told them. If this please it shall adde spurres to the finishing of this course intended; and as occasion may give leave, you shall have the rest that may be spoken.

Yours

F. R.

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Javan, Jas, Jabnel, Jonia, Ἀκτική. Ακτικὴ. Αὐλή. Athenæ in ellâ, Cecropiæ, Cranaæ, Atthis, Attica, Athenæ ſub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re ſententia, alii ſub Erechtheo volunt nominari, Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone. Salenos. Selines. Satinæ. Sethina.

BY the ſonnes of *Noah* [a] were the Iles of the Gentiles divided into their lands, every one after his tongue; whē by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to heaven, thinking to leave a name to poſterity, by building Caſtles in the ayre. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a ſcattering abroad upon the face of the earth; hee having ſo ſpoken it, whoſe breath alone affords a faire wind: hoyſt then they muſt their Sailes, and bidding adieu to the plain in the land of *Shenar*, ſeek out ſome new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, & yet ſtill muſt journey. Each one in as different a courſe, as of a divers language. The ſons of *Shem* their way, the ſons of *Japhet*, theirs. *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai* & *Iavan*, with whom I purpoſe one furlong

[a] Gen. 10. 4.